

Ethan Allen

by
JOHN PELL



THE BOOK RACK
1000'S OF USED PAPERBACKS
BUY 1/2 PRICE OR TRADE 2 FOR 1
213 W. DUNDEE - DUNELL CENTER
BUFFALO GROVE, IL 537-6632

2.00

КНИЖНИ
МАГАЗИН

PENNSYLVANIA

Wyoming
Valley

Philadelphia
Valley Forge

Delaware R.

NEW JERSEY

NEW YORK

Elizabeth
New York

The Highlands

Poughkeepsie

White Plains

OBLONG

Livingston Manor

Hudson R.

Quaker Hill

Salisbury

Spencertown

Housatonic R.

Woodbury

New Marlboro

Lebanon

Litchfield

Pittsfield

LONG ISLAND

CONNECTICUT

New Haven

Hartford R.

Connecticut

Northampton

Springfield

ATLANTIC
OCEAN

RHODE ISLAND

BAY

MASSACHUSETTS

Concord

Watertown

Boston

Lexington

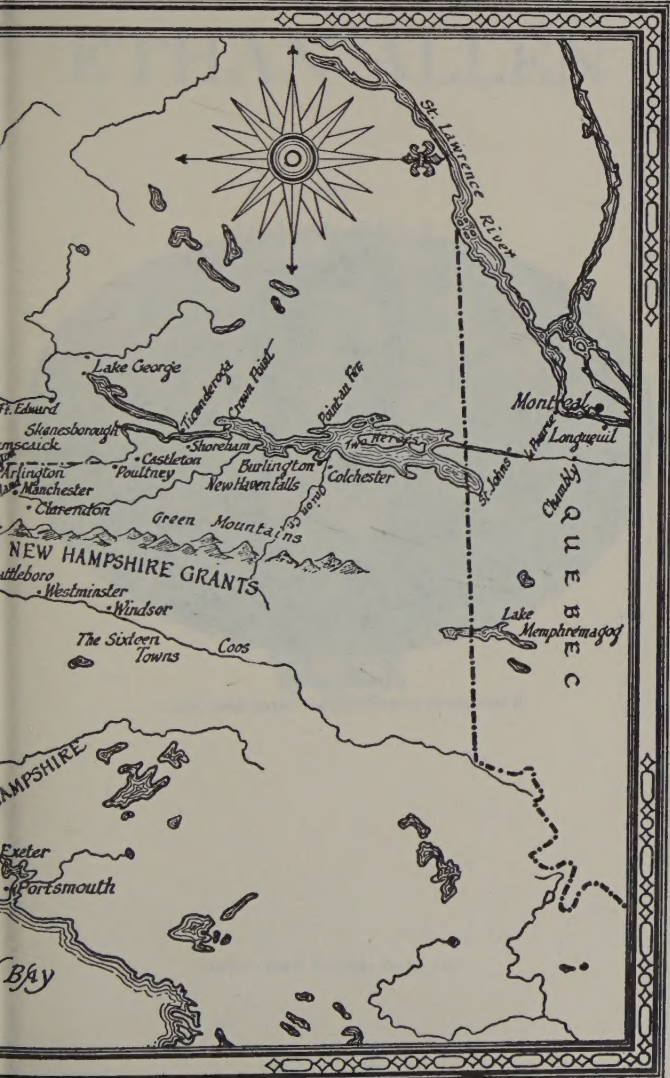
New Bedford

Cambridge

Nantasket

Massachusetts

MAP
WHICH SHOWS WHERE
ETHAN ALLEN
LIVED and DIED





ETHAN ALLEN

A composite portrait from written description

ETHAN ALLEN

BY
JOHN PELL

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS



Adirondack Resorts Press, Inc.

COPYRIGHT, 1929, BY JOHN PELL

**ALL RIGHTS RESERVED INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO REPRODUCE
THIS BOOK OR PARTS THEREOF IN ANY FORM**

*Adirondack Resorts Press, Inc.
Lake George, N.Y.*

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

TO
PYRMA

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

IF this book deserves any credit, it is due to the untiring assistance I have received from Vermonters and Historians. There is no space to mention the names of all who have given me their time and encouragement; my gratitude extends beyond the limits of a page. Henry Steele Wardner, of Windsor, and Hoffman Nickerson, of New York, devoted countless hours to guiding and correcting my work. John Clement, of Rutland, through his researches in Vermont and Connecticut, unearthed much of the data and documents on which the book is based. Professor Clarence Rife, of Hamline University, laid before me his unequalled knowledge of the Haldimand Intrigue. John Spargo, of Bennington, spent many hours unearthing clues. Dr. Kenney, of Ottawa, combed the Canadian Archives. The kindness of William Clements, of Bay City, and the work of Miss Jane Clark divulged the secrets of the Sir Henry Clinton Papers. A. J. Wall and the staff of the New York Historical Society; Wilberforce Eames and his assistants at the New York Public Library; Dr. Flick and Dr. Nelson, of the New York State Library; V. Valta Parma, of the Library of Congress; the Honorable Walter Crockett, of the University of Vermont; George Godard, the Librarian of the State of Connecticut; Albert Bates, of the Connecticut Historical Society; Charles Cummings, editor of the 'Vermont'; and Colonel Ulio, of the War Department, generously lent me their various facilities. William Phelps Eno, of Washington, gave me the history of his ancestor Noah Phelps, and Edwin W. Will-

cox, of New York, of his ancestor James Willcox. Malcolm Rudd, of Salisbury, gave me access to the documents which disclosed Ethan's life in this vicinity. George S. Howe, of Burlington, with untiring vigilance, collected every mention of Ethan in contemporary Vermont literature. Miss Lilian Lutes, of Philadelphia, searched the archives of Pennsylvania. John Gale, of Guilford, lent me the fruits of his researches. The late James B. Wilbur, of Manchester, and Hall Parke McCulloch, of Bennington, gave me access to their important collections. My father encouraged and guided me at Fort Ticonderoga. The hours of work are more than repaid by the pleasant experiences and friendships making this book has given me.

J. P.

September, 1929

CONTENTS

I. IN THE BEGINNING	I
II. PHILOSOPHY AND PIGS	12
III. LEAD	23
IV. LAND	28
V. THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS	34
VI. PROPAGANDA	49
VII. THE UNION RIVER COMPANY	56
VIII. THE OUTLAWS	63
IX. THE CRISIS	74
X. THE ATTACK	80
XI. VICTORY	87
XII. THE LAKE	95
XIII. THE REGIMENT	104
XIV. MONTREAL	115
XV. IN WHICH ETHAN CHEWS NAILS AND DRINKS MADEIRA	122
XVI. THE EXCHANGE	131
XVII. THE HERO	135
XVIII. THE REPUBLIC	142
XIX. ETHAN TAKES THE REINS	146
XX. ETHAN TAKES TRICKS	153
XXI. A DISPUTATIONOUS CHAPTER	159
XXII. 'FOR FORMS OF GOVERNMENT LET FOOLS CON- TEST'	164
XXIII. 'WHATE'ER IS BEST ADMINISTERED IS BEST'	171

XXIV. ETHAN CALLS A BLUFF	180
XXV. THE PERFECT ALIBI	185
XXVI. A MAN IS HANGED	192
XXVII. THE LORD PUTS A HOOK IN THEIR NOSE	198
XXVIII. CROWFOOT TRIES HIS SNOWSHOES	207
XXIX. SERGEANT TUPPER IS KILLED	215
XXX. 'CALL NOW ON YOUR GOD CONGRESS'	221
XXXI. THIN ICE	231
XXXII. WHICH CONTAINS PEACE AND WAR, DEATH AND LOVE	238
XXXIII. NATURAL AND PROPRIETARY RIGHTS	246
XXXIV. THE EPAULETTES ARE PACKED AWAY	252
XXXV. ETHAN CULTIVATES HIS GARDEN	263
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND KEY TO CHRONOLOGY AND NOTES	271
CHRONOLOGY AND NOTES	281
INDEX	319

ILLUSTRATIONS

ETHAN ALLEN	<i>Frontispiece</i>
A composite portrait from written description	
"ALLEN NEEDS YOU AT TI"	2
Courtesy National Life Insurance Company of Vermont	
MAP OF SOUTHERN VERMONT ABOUT 1770, SHOWING THE NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS	30
CATAMOUNT TAVERN IN BENNINGTON WHERE ETHAN ALLEN AND THE OTHERS LAID PLANS TO CAPTURE THE FORTRESS OF TICONDEROGA	34
PLAN OF THE FORT AT TICONDEROGA, 1759	74
From the original in the library of the New York Historical Society	
BENEDICT ARNOLD	80
From a mezzotint in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum Collection	
ETHAN ALLEN AND CAPTAIN DELAPLACE AT THE CAP- TURE OF FORT TICONDEROGA	84
From a painting in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum Collection	
LETTER FROM ETHAN ALLEN, TICONDEROGA, MAY 12, 1775	92
Manuscript in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum Collection	
THE TITLE-PAGE OF "AN ANIMADVERSORY ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE STATE OF VERMONT," 1778	146
From the copy in the Library of Congress	

GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON	150
From an etching by H. B. Hall	
THE TITLE-PAGE OF 'A NARRATIVE OF COLONEL ETHAN ALLEN'S CAPTIVITY'	168
From the copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society	
THE TITLE-PAGE OF 'A VINDICATION OF THE OPPOSITION OF THE INHABITANTS OF VERMONT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF NEW-YORK'	180
From the copy in the Library of Congress	
THE TITLE-PAGE OF 'A CONCISE REFUTATION OF THE CLAIMS OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE AND MASSACHUSETTS-BAY TO THE TERRITORY OF VERMONT'	182
From the copy in the Library of Congress	
GENERAL SIR FREDERICK HALDIMAND	196
From an etching by Albert Rosenthal after the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds	
THE TITLE-PAGE OF 'THE PRESENT STATE OF THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE STATES OF NEW-YORK AND NEW-HAMPSHIRE ON THE ONE PART, AND THE STATE OF VERMONT ON THE OTHER'	222
From the copy in the Library of Congress	
MRS. PATRICK WALL, MOTHER OF MRS. ETHAN ALLEN	244
From the original portrait in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum	
FANNY WALL: MRS. ETHAN ALLEN	244
From the original portrait in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum	
THE INSCRIPTION IN THE COPY OF 'REASON THE ONLY ORACLE OF MAN' THAT ETHAN ALLEN GAVE HIS WIFE	252
From the 'Vermont'	
THE TITLE-PAGE OF ETHAN ALLEN'S BOOK 'REASON THE ONLY ORACLE OF MAN'	256

ETHAN ALLEN



CHAPTER I

IN THE BEGINNING

ALLEN genealogy begins with three brothers: Samuel, Thomas, and Matthew. They appear in the records of 1632 as members of the Dorchester Company sailing for America in Captain Squeb's barque. Each day of the voyage there was preaching and expounding of the Scriptures. But the word of God did not reach the heart of Captain Squeb, aloof in his high poop, for he landed his consignment of Christian Fathers, with their women, cattle, Bibles, pots and pans, on the first beach he sighted and left them there. Indians called the place Nantasket.

When the ship had sailed away, the pilgrims offered thanks to God for their safe arrival and then began to wonder how they were going to feed their cows. Seeing the mouth of a river near by, they built a boat and rowed upstream until shoals obstructed their way. Putting ashore, they found some Englishmen already settled, calling the place Newtowne. Soon afterwards, Indians sent them a 'Bass,' indicating friendliness. The white men returned a 'Bisquet,' token of their good will, and there was peace and rejoicing in Newtowne, until the winter came.

Thomas Hooker, the pastor of the Dorchester Company, was a radical. He believed that the people have a right to choose their magistrates and to set bounds

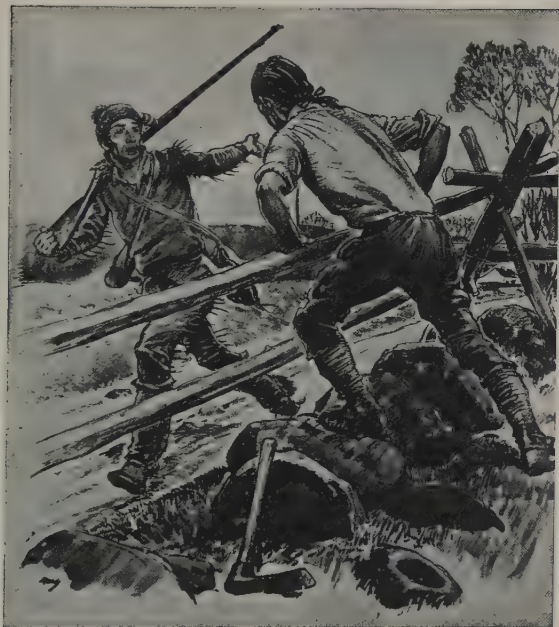
and limitations upon them. In Massachusetts Bay, it has been said, democracy was as much disliked socially as it was abhorred politically. So Hooker gathered his disciples together and led them west to the Connecticut Valley, where they were able to cultivate the earth and listen to their pastor's message unmolested, but many of them died of cold and hunger before they fully understood.

The record of the Allens, for the first hundred years, is a repetition of the Book of Exodus. Like the Israelites, they raised families and moved. Four generations averaged ten children each and lived in eight different places. Restless, energetic, hopeful, they followed the frontier persistently, clearing the wilderness, building cabins, and sowing crops which they often left for others to reap. Like all pioneers they believed in the future even more than in themselves and never seemed to know why they moved so often or worked so hard.

Samuel would have said he came to America for 'God,' but his great-great-grandson Joseph went to the frontier for 'Land,' as, undoubtedly, great-great-grandsons of his turned to the city for 'Money'; but none of them would have wasted time defining those terms. They were strong, shrewd, prolific Yankees who liked to work and make bargains and win wagers. But to enjoy the landscape they had to own it.

This Joseph married Mary Baker, of Woodbury, and came to live in Litchfield, Connecticut, which was then the frontier. According to the records of that town, their first child, a son, was born January 10, 1738. His parents named him Ethan — a Hebrew name, signifying strong.

As the population increased, the Governor divided



"ALLEN NEEDS YOU AT TI"

Courtesy National Life Insurance Company of Vermont

and subdivided the wilderness into townships and rights, auctioning them off to would-be pioneers. Since the land was forfeited if not cleared within a certain time, it was settled very rapidly. When the frontier receded from Litchfield, pioneer nostalgia ripened in Joseph's mind until he bought a 'Right' in the new town of Cornwall, on the Housatonic River, twenty miles northwest, and moved across the hills with his wife and the baby Ethan and a few cows. He must have been a forceful, dominating man, for he became a Selectman at once and was chosen Moderator of the first Town Meeting. Unlike his neighbors, he professed 'Arminianism.' After fourteen years he converted even the Congregational minister!

Cornwall was a cluster of log cabins huddled on a half-cleared flat beside the falls of the river. Its two hundred people were farmers (except for Dr. Dean, Parson Palmer, Dominie Douglas, and Blacksmith Blinn) who spent their spare time clearing more land and building stone fences. On the Green at the center of the village there stood a tavern, meeting-house, stocks, and a whipping-post. There were no roads, no carriages, and no mill. The people made their own clothes and took their grain to mill at Woodbury, twenty-five miles away. The only recreation was visiting and perhaps the greatest interest of the community was the seating of families in church. There was a bounty for wolves as well as rattlesnakes; but there were no witches in Cornwall, although Moll Cramer was driven from Woodbury in 1753. She did not disturb the people of the neighboring villages, but went off with her child into the woods and built a hut in which she lived for many years. Occasionally she came to town to beg alms. If she stopped before any

house, the milk curdled or the new calf died. Yet she was not burned.

Ethan was the oldest of eight children. His brothers and sisters were named Heman, Heber, Levi, Zimri, Ira, Lydia, and Lucy. Even as children they were obstinate, domineering, bold, and clever. Ethan is supposed to have remarked, in later life, that only two women were delivered of seven devils, Mary Magdalene and his mother.

Ira, the youngest, was born in 1751. There is a story that he once made a wager with Ethan to beat him to a certain hickory tree which they both knew well — but Ira knew that there was a swamp filled with boggy marshland and thickets between them and the tree. Ethan accepted the bet and started straight for the tree while Ira followed a trail around the swamp. When Ethan came to the marshland and thickets, he plunged ahead and made his way through or over every obstacle, so that the two brothers arrived at exactly the same time. Woodspeople use that kind of parable for sizing each other up.

As soon as he was old enough to know the woods, Ethan was sent to Woodbury with the grist to mill. You can picture him dressed in moccasins, leather or linsey-woolsey breeches, deerskin jacket, carrying a fowling piece, tomahawk, powder-horn, bullet-pouch, and haversack, leading a horse laden with bags of grist. The blazed trail followed the valleys and crossed the ridges in deep gullies worn by rain water and melting snow. The streams were lined with willows and alders, but on the highlands were ranged the regiments of great white pines. The stream beds, marshes, and fallen leaves were hieroglyphs telling where the deer came down to the lowlands to drink, eat swamp grass,

and scrape their horns on green alders; where the bears gathered berries and beechnuts; and where the beavers were cutting poplars for their next dam. When a horse, crunching dried leaves, disturbed the silence of the forest, grouse drummed, squirrels chattered, and sometimes wildcats screamed.

Ethan soon made friends in Woodbury. His uncle Remember Baker introduced him to the neighbors. Benjamin Stiles (Ezra's nephew) gave him his first ideas of history and politics. And Mary Brownson, the miller's daughter, gave him cider and hasty pudding while his bags were being filled with flour. She was a quiet, pious girl who, like Stiles, was older than Ethan and impressed by his eagerness and curiosity. He was a precocious, mercurial boy with a bold, open manner and a strange thirst for knowledge. He made friends with older people who could teach him things, read all the books he could get hold of, listened to the noises of the woods, and watched flotsam drifting in the river the long hours after the mowing and stacking, August afternoons. As he wrote later:

In my youth I was much disposed to contemplation, and at my commencement in manhood I committed to manuscript such sentiments or arguments as appeared most consonant to reason, lest through the debility of memory, my improvement should have been less gradual. This method of scribbling I practised for many years, from which I experienced great advantages in the progression of learning and knowledge, the more so as I was deficient in education and had to acquire the knowledge of grammar and language as well as the art of reasoning, principally from a studious application to it, which after all, I am sensible, lays me under disadvantages, particularly in matters of composition; however, to remedy this defect I have substituted the most unwearied pains.

As this document indicates, 'the most unwearied

pains' did not entirely 'remedy this defect'; but it is the pains and not the defect which is important. Imagine an evergreen wilderness inhabited by bears, wolves, catamounts, rattlesnakes, Indians, Puritans, and witches; a clearing with the stumps still standing and a cabin built of logs from which the pitch still oozed, chinked with moss and roofed with bark; with no floor but the earth and, probably, a three-foot stump standing in the center of its one room for a table; a cabin with no heat but the charcoal fire, no chimney but a hole in the roof, no light but a tallow candle; imagine a room filled with children, dogs, cats, spinning-wheels, benches, guns, axes, dried maize, pumpkins, deerskins, wampum, powder-horns, saddlebags, scythes, tomahawks, pewter plates, wooden bowls, stone jugs, dried hams, salt pork, smoke — and a boy studying grammar.

When Ethan was sixteen, there was a sudden and great commotion in Cornwall, caused by the apostasy of Solomon Palmer. Having served for fourteen years as Congregational minister of the parish, he stepped into the pulpit one Sunday in March, 1754, and astonished the congregation (probably all except Joseph Allen) by declaring himself to be an Episcopalian in sentiment. Ethan, who was undoubtedly sitting in one of the front pews, was profoundly affected by this cataclysmic upheaval. Reading the Bible with a critical attitude, he began to question the value of a theology which lent itself to so many interpretations. Like his ancestor Samuel, he associated with the radicals of his community. Joseph, perceiving that his son was inclined to be 'intellectual,' decided to send him to college, and arranged that he should prepare for college with the Reverend Jonathan Lee in Salisbury,

the adjoining town. Perhaps he was to do the Reverend Jonathan's chores and cut his wood in return for the benefits of education. But he had only just begun to study when his father died and the question of college was settled in the only possible way. There was the new question of fields to be plowed, seed sown, cattle fed, grain gathered, milled, and stored away before the long sterile winter.

Joseph was buried in the pasture back of the house. A tradition persists that Ethan stood beside his father's unmarked grave and appealed to him to return and tell whether there was another life, but only the disagreeable cackle of hungry crows and the faint rumble of the river answered.

His younger brothers, Heman and Heber, were old enough to help with the chores, but they looked to Ethan to decide when to sow winter wheat, when to make hay, and when to turn the calves to pasture. He studied the earth and learned to see signs and forebodings in clouds and sunsets. As the head of the family he looked after the interests of his brothers and sisters and of his mother. When she became administratrix of her husband's estate, he acted as her attorney and obtained a judgment against Joseph Mather for money owed his father.

By then the French and Indian War had broken out. The men of Cornwall built a palisade, but they were not attacked by Indians, and the economic conditions of the war did not affect them very much — nothing affected these self-sufficing people very much except the weather. But when, in the summer of 1757, Fort William Henry was threatened, recruiting sergeants came through northwest Connecticut enlisting men for the 'alarum.'

Ethan was nineteen. He turned over the farm to his younger brothers and went to war. He found himself in Captain Lyman's company of Colonel Ebenezer Marsh's regiment. There were seventy-three men in the company, and they were in service only fourteen days, for, on approaching Lake George, they found the 'alarum' had come too late and, turning about, marched home again. At night they camped beside the streams of the Hudson watershed and listened to the tales the guides told of the rich land in the north and west, the broad intervalles, deep brooks, and tall straight trees. People liked to talk land and dream about what they were going to do when they moved to new regions — men such as Ethan's father sized each other up in terms of acres and rods and overworked themselves and their families so that they might own more land than their neighbors, before they died.

Ethan did not enlist again. This was a professional war and the only interest the farmers took in it was to safeguard their scalps from 'Redskins.' Pioneers had very little time for such diversions as soldiering and no unsatisfied craving for excitement. Daily life was exciting enough and patriotism, as an emotion, had not yet been invented. But the two weeks' service had altered Ethan's point of view. He had traveled and tasted 'Life,' and when he came back to Cornwall he was restless and could not settle down. He wanted to leave the family farm and get into some business with a future and own his own land. He wanted to marry Mary Brownson.

In Salisbury, where the Reverend Jonathan Lee lived, there was a large round hill supposed to be filled with iron ore. The mining rights were owned by eight partners who had set up forges beside the streams of

the vicinity. They came to the hill for ore as it was needed and, of course, were not supposed to take more than their share. But they seem to have believed the vein was unlimited so that each partner could really take all the ore he wanted.

Just how Ethan got into the mining business is not very clear. Probably, when he came home from the war, he went to see some of his school day friends in Salisbury and they got him a job. He may have been a teamster driving oxen between the hill and the forge which Leonard Owen and his brothers operated at the outlet of Wanapacopak Pond, or he may have been a wood-cutter, splitting and burning logs for charcoal on Tohconnick Mountain. He left no record of any sort for four years after the 'alarm' at Fort William Henry, but then — on the 31st of October, 1761 — he emerged from the historical void by appearing at the Registry of Deeds in Cornwall. Jesse Squier had sold to him and his cousin Elihu the Cream Hill farm, with its house, orchard, and fifty acres of land, for a hundred pounds. Ethan's half — fifty pounds — represents four years of obscurity. The farm was intended for Elihu. Ethan was in the deal as mortgagor, to finance the transaction. It was his first appearance as a capitalist. He remained a capitalist the rest of his life.

At just this time John Hazeltine, of Uxbridge, came to Salisbury to visit his brother Paul. For some reason he became interested in the ore hill and in Ethan — seeing perhaps in both of them possibilities which did not show on the surface. Ethan was twenty-three, exceptionally big and strong even among frontiersmen, educated by the Bible and the woods, used to hard work; a handsome, confident boy who liked to read, argue, and dream. He shot as many deer as anybody in

town, drank with the best of them, and rode down to Woodbury to see his girl whenever he could get away.

Probably Ethan had a scheme and talked Hazeltine into it. In later life he talked many people into many schemes. At any rate, before Hazeltine left town, he had promised that, if Ethan could get control of one of the Ore Hill eighths and the necessary water-power, he would build a furnace. In the partnership, he was to put up the capital and Ethan the experience.

The Forbes brothers in Canaan owned one of the eighths and Ethan went to them with his proposition. If there were supposed to be an infinite amount of ore in the hill, it would seem that a right to mine it would have an infinite value, but the Forbes brothers actually valued their right at about four hundred twenty pounds. Ethan persuaded them to sell a half-interest in the right to Hazeltine and an eighth interest to him — retaining three eighths for themselves, and an assurance of enough ore to operate their forge in Canaan as well as Thomas Day's in Norfolk.

Ethan's interest cost about fifty-four pounds. With the security of the Cream Hill mortgage he was able to borrow this amount in the neighborhood. He then secured for the partnership of Hazeltine, the Forbes brothers, and himself the Owens' water-power right, as well as the privilege of cutting and coaling two thirds of the coal wood standing on a certain tract on Tohconnick Mountain, for twenty pounds. With everything arranged, the furnace was started at once and completed early in the spring of 1762.

This was the first furnace built in Connecticut Province. It was a pioneer venture and its success was immediate, largely due to an increasing demand for potash kettles. Ethan boarded near the furnace and

worked very hard, but he did manage to get down to Woodbury from time to time, to tell Mary Brownson how well the business was getting on.

She was a delicate girl, deeply religious, humorless, and illiterate. She signed her name with a cross. She was the eighth of eleven children. But so substantial a man was Farmer Brownson that even his younger daughters had prospects of inheriting land. She was thirty this year and Ethan was twenty-four. When he, as a small boy, brought the grain to Woodbury, she sometimes took him home to dinner, mothered him, and fed his curiosity with descriptions of the comparatively sophisticated life of Woodbury, which, even then, possessed two meeting-houses and a witch. They had gone to house-raisings, husking-bees, and barn dances together, had watched mist rising from the pond at sunset and listened to the river's song. They had ridden on the hay carts in summer, hunted rabbits in the fall, and 'bundled' in winter. When the business had reached a certain point, Ethan could support a wife. But it is unlikely that the state of the business had anything to do with it — it never had. He acted entirely on impulse, but his impulses were apt to be sound. He probably remembered Mary one morning as he was crossing the milldam to the furnace, jumped on his horse, rode to Woodbury, asked her to marry him and was accepted. In the vital records of Woodbury it is stated that the Reverend Daniel Brinsmade, of Judea Parish, performed the ceremony on the 23d of June, 1762, for a fee of four shillings. Jays and thrushes were rejoicing and the forest was carpeted with ferns and trilia when Mary, on the back of Ethan's horse, moved to her new home.

CHAPTER II

PHILOSOPHY AND PIGS

MARY spent her first year in Salisbury as a boarder in one of the little, square, clapboarded houses that surrounded the village green, while Ethan worked at the furnace. The success of the business is indicated by the fact that in January, 1763, a year after its inception, the partners were able to pay Leonard Owen four hundred thirty pounds for the lot which included the falls at the outlet of the pond as well as a forge, a small ore bed, two dwelling-houses, and two coal houses. It would seem that the manager might have occupied one of these two houses, but apparently he did not.

When Mary expected a child, Ethan took her to Cornwall to be with his mother during her confinement. The child, born in April, was a girl whom they named Loraine.

Cousin Elihu, coming to congratulate the father, brought with him the fifty pounds he had borrowed when he bought the Cream Hill farm, and ten pounds additional for the use of the money. With pride in his heart and sixty pounds in his pocket, Ethan hurried back to Salisbury. The pride remained in his heart but he invested the money almost immediately.

Eliphalet Buell owned a house which stood on a little hill facing the furnace across the millbrook. It must have been quite a pretentious house because he wanted five hundred pounds for it. It had ninety-five acres of land back of it but that would not affect the price very much -- every house had pasture for the cattle and a potato patch near by.

Ethan bought the house. That would appear to be a perfectly simple transaction if there were any possibility of his possessing five hundred pounds at that time. But he never let himself be hampered by practical considerations and, as a result, left his practical contemporaries behind in almost no time. He gave Eliphalet fifty pounds cash (obviously part of the sixty pounds he had just received from Cousin Elihu) and for the remainder mortgaged the family farm in Cornwall to Eliphalet for four hundred fifty pounds. But that involved a further complication.

Ethan had inherited the house and barns in Cornwall, but his brother Heman owned some of the plowland. To complete the deal with Buell, he had to buy these lots. Heman had been concerned in a mining venture in Cornwall which petered out and now he wanted to join his brother in Salisbury, so Ethan sold him a half-interest in his share of the furnace for three hundred pounds and a half-interest in the Buell house for two hundred pounds. To pay his older brother, Heman gave him the Cornwall plowland, mortgaged his half of the house to Colonel Martin Hoffman and also gave Ethan notes, payable in 'good neat cattle.' In all these deals, of course, there was very little cash involved: there was very little cash that could be involved.

With Brother Heman helping at the furnace, Ethan had more time for recreation. When he first came to Salisbury to prepare for college with Jonathan Lee, he had made friends with Thomas Young, an itinerant doctor who lived in the 'Oblong,' a few miles away. In contrast to Ethan, Young, though only five years older, was far removed from frontier illiteracy. He was just old enough to have seen the effects of the

'Great Awakening,' which, during Ethan's childhood, had swept across the face of New England, releasing emotions repressed for generations and leaving in its wake regions of doubt and skepticism, people who dared to criticize the absurdity of such religiosity. After due preparation (uninterrupted by family misfortunes) Young had attended Yale at a time when Locke and the Deists were all the rage among the youthful intellectuals there. Armed with an 'M.D.' he had come to the frontier to practice on the provincials, before 'locating' in one of the larger cities. He carried books in his saddle-bags, as well as cures and calomel, and amused himself by producing pamphlets attacking Jonathan Edwards and by telling the rustics about their 'natural rights.'

When, in the little settlement of Salisbury, Young came upon a boy who could discuss the Bible with a critical attitude and dared to consider orthodox Puritanism without a halo of mysterious prejudice, he was delighted. He invited his 'find' to his house, where the two evidently spent long evenings together discussing Calvinism and rum.

Young was filled with eighteenth-century erudition, rationalism, and skepticism. He could reduce any situation in life to a syllogism and any syllogism to dust. While his protégé listened and wondered, he picked geometric holes in Whitefield, Edwards, Moses, and the early Christian Fathers, and stuffed them with a charming eighteenth-century misconception of nature.

At college, he had copied or memorized passages from his favorite books, which he laid before his disciple. In this way Ethan became acquainted with the ideas of authors he had never read.

Most prominent among them was Charles Blount.

This early champion of Deism possessed a facetious mind clothed (like a profiteer-sportsman on his first appearance in the field or woods) with all the traditional trappings, 'classics,' Greek, Latin, Hebrew; Plutarch, Tacitus, etc.; 'scholastics,' Aquinas, Athanasius; 'moderns,' Locke, Hobbes, Machiavelli, and the rest. He devoted his really staggering degree of scholarship to pointing out that God condoned Abraham's incestuous marriage; that it is permissible, according to the Decalogue, to marry two sisters in succession; and to asking where Eve found thread to stitch her fig leaves and how the serpent learned to talk. In short, Blount was just the man to enchant a sophomore.

Young had a good deal to say about his humorous philosopher. In this way Ethan acquired (by proxy, as it were) a smattering acquaintanceship with Locke, Athanasius, Plutarch, and a good many others whom he could not even identify. It is also clear that Ethan was familiar with the titles of at least two of Blount's works: 'Oracles of Reason' and 'Great is Diana'; but that he actually read either of these books seems to be precluded by his statement that he had never read the writings of the Deists. Furthermore, had he done so, he would have lost patience with Blount's frivolousness and failure to comprehend the real significance of the problems he presented.

A second author with whom Ethan became acquainted through the alchemy of Young's memory was Humphrey Ditton, a mathematician and disciple of Sir Isaac Newton, who published, in 1714, a 'Discourse on the Resurrection of Jesus Christ' — an attempt to reconcile a corporeal God with a Newtonian cosmography.

Besides these, Young evidently brought with him to the frontier (in his saddle-bags or in his memory), Locke's 'Essay on Civil Government,' Warburton's 'Divine Legation of Moses,' Watts's 'Sermons,' and Salmon's 'Geographical Grammar.' Long winter evenings, sipping flip before an open fire, the doctor and the disciple copied passages, wrote out comments, and made plans for getting out a book which would shatter the smug platitudes of the Calvinists.

Ethan's orthodox friends evidently made some effort to counteract the pernicious influence of the free-thinking doctor. After Joseph's death, Jonathan Lee, whose daughter had married a cousin (Thomas Allen, of Northampton), probably took a quasi-paternal interest in the Allen family. When young Ethan went about saying he did not believe in Original Sin, Jonathan pointed out to him that, without this hypothesis, there would be no need for Atonement, for Christ, for Christianity — and then where would he be? The conversation was 'uppermost' in Ethan's mind for several months, 'and after many painful searches and researches after the truth' he resolved 'at all events to abide the decision of rational argument in the premises' which led him to reject 'the whole' — Original Sin, Imputation, Christ, and Christianity. Thomas must have been delighted.

This versatile young man was interested, not only in medicine and philosophy, but also in real estate. In this connection it should be mentioned that practically all the bright young men in the country were interested in real estate. Wild lands were the grand, the only, speculation of the time. George Washington, the Virginia planter; Ezra Stiles, the president of Yale; Benning Wentworth, the Governor of New Hamp-

shire --- were all speculating in real estate, and doing splendidly. Many people in the vicinity of Salisbury had bought land in the New Hampshire Grants. There was some question of the validity of their title, but the land was rich and new. Young was evidently interested in this speculation. In 1764 (just when the Salisbury furnace was well under way) he produced a pamphlet on the title question and the controversy between the Governors of New Hampshire and New York over the jurisdiction of the region. It mentioned 'Liberty and Property (the household gods of Englishmen)' — a phrase which made a deep impression on Ethan. It also contained, as an appendix, a delightful poem called 'Rules of Law, fit to be observed, in purchasing land.' Thomas must have shown his pamphlet to Ethan with great pride, and may have laughed at him for working, when so much more money could be made speculating.

Soon after this, Young moved away from the 'Oblong.' He went first to Albany, then to Boston, finally to Philadelphia. He took the notes and the outline of the theology with him, apparently agreeing with Ethan that they should get together sometime and finish it up.

Even if Ethan lacked documentary reminders, he did not abandon his rebellious attitude toward Calvinism. Busy with a growing business and a growing family, he managed to find time to discuss theology and practice constructing syllogisms and sentences. Somewhere, there is a connection between Ethan the student of philosophy and Ethan the restless pioneer. He was always wandering through the woods and over the hills or else in metaphysical fields. Essentially a man of action, long periods of his life were given up to

dreams. Years later, Heman's widow told Zadock Thompson, the historian,

that one summer when he was residing in her house he passed almost all the time in writing. She did not know what was the subject of his study, but on one occasion she called him to dinner, and he said he was very sorry she had called him so soon, for he had got clear up into the upper regions.

There exist only fragmentary hints of Ethan's life in Salisbury, occasional notations in the land records or justice records: most of the time he was too busy to buy, sell, or misbehave. He lived with Mary and Heman in a square clapboarded house which probably had two rooms, a cellar, and an attic, and stood on the round little hill beside the millbrook. There was a well in the side of the hill and a plank laid across the millbrook for going back and forth between the house and the furnace on the other side. Below the furnace was the village green, with its meeting-house, tavern, and stocks, just like the green in Cornwall and all the other frontier towns. Facing it were the houses of John Hutchinson, the Justice of the Peace; and Joshua Porter, the doctor; John Knickerbocker, the Dutchman who had come with the first settlers east from Livingston Manor; Paul Hazletine, the Massachusetts man; the Tousley and Caldwell families, and a few others. They were all farmers, of necessity, but some of them were traders or professional men besides.

The township proprietors assembled from time to time to decide questions of moment, such as the question of pigs. There were those who thought pigs should be let run loose in the highways and byways, and those who wanted them locked up. As a general rule, the

men who raised pigs favored the former plan; the men who raised gardens, the latter.

Ethan and Heman had a garden. When they found eight pigs rooting it, they locked them up in Samuel Keyes's pen. The pigs belonged to Samuel Tousley. It would have been possible for him to go to Keyes's pen and let his pigs out, but instead he went to Justice Hutchinson and brought action of replevin against the Allens, charging that Keyes's pen was not a lawful pound. Ethan appeared before Hutchinson and, pleading for himself and Heman, said it was a proper pound. Samuel, the plaintiff, was on hand to point out that it was not. As a matter of fact it was not. The court found the defense plea insufficient and awarded ten shillings sixpence damages and five shillings costs.

Ethan's acquaintanceship with Hutchinson was not limited to pigs. He usually pleaded for himself, and on one occasion, in a case which was carried from the Salisbury Justice to the Litchfield County Court, he wrote out a long defense, which suggests the following.

Thomas Young was an empiricist. He liked to make experiments and Ethan liked to help him. They obtained smallpox serum and inoculated the latter with it. But there was a Connecticut law making the giving or receiving of smallpox by inoculation punishable by a heavy fine unless consent had been given in the form of a certificate from the Selectmen. Needless to say, Ethan did not have such a certificate. He never paid much attention to laws when they stood in his way.

Two of the Selectmen, Lee (possibly the Reverend Jonathan) and Stoddard, threatened to prosecute Ethan, who thereupon lost his temper and, according to the complaint, remarked,

By Jesus Christ I wish I may be bound down in Hell with old Beelzabub a thousand years in the lowest pit in Hell and that every little insipid Devil should come along by and ask the reason of Allen's lying there it should be said because he made a promise here in cool blood that he would have satisfaction of Lee and Stoddard and did not fulfill it.

Charged with breaking the peace, Ethan's defense was ingenious. He said that he

uttered the word 'By' at the same time turning his face and eyes upward, making a pause, and with a horsewhip wrote or marked on a rail of the fence and then said, 'This stands for Jesus Christ and add this and that Together Makes by Jesus Christ.'

Furthermore he

did not in an absolute sense wish he might be bound down in Hell with Beelzabub,

but only on condition that Lee and Stoddard prosecuted him in the law for inoculation — which they had not done, so that the oath, which he had only implied, was only an oath on a condition which had not been fulfilled, and the King's peace had not been violated! Undoubtedly he won the case.

At this late date it is impossible to guess what effects philosophy, profanity, and pigs were having on Ethan's career. But it is clear that he did not possess the qualities which make for a good business executive — judgment, coolness, caution, willingness to take pains over details, and so on. Ethan's was the temperament of a business-getter, salesman, or artist — imaginative, meteoric, enthusiastic, with a touch of poetry. Whenever he had a sale to make or an idea to sell, he succeeded. He managed details badly.

Instead of sticking to the furnace and building it up,

he was becoming involved in all sorts of other ventures. Mining fascinated him because of the possibility of striking precious metals. He was the sort of man who will throw away sure but slow success for a chance of fortune. He bought mining rights in Woodbury from Lemuel Baker, of Livingston Manor, and became associated with Sampson Simpson, a New York merchant, in mineral researches. As a result of these, lead mines (with a suspicion of silver) were located in Northampton. Ethan saw a fortune just around the corner and promptly sold his interest in the furnace and his house in Salisbury, so that he could buy mining land in Northampton. Heman sold out at the same time and started a general store. Oliver Millard paid them two hundred seventy-two pounds for the house and George Caldwell five hundred pounds for their joint interest in the furnace. This was in the spring of 1765.

After signing the deeds, apparently, Ethan, Heman, and George went on a party to celebrate the sale. But the party was not a success. Before the day was over Ethan and George had formed an intense aversion for each other. In the morning they were brought before John Hutchinson, the Justice of Peace, George charged with fighting Ethan, and Ethan, because (in the words of the complaint) he

did in a tumultuous and offensive manner with threatening words and angry looks strip himself even to his naked body and with force and arms without law or right did assault and actually strike the person of George Caldwell of Salisbury in the presence and to the disturbance of many of His Majesty's good subjects.

As a matter of fact, His Majesty's good subjects had probably thoroughly enjoyed themselves, but Hutchinson fined Ethan ten shillings.

Almost immediately after this Ethan went to Woodbury to join his brothers-in-law Abraham and Israel Brownson, his friend Benjamin Stiles, and several others in an expedition to 'take possession' of the Northampton lead mines. They started as soon as Ethan arrived, taking with them three slaves, Tom, Cato, and Cæsar. There is no record of who owned the slaves. They may have been rented for the occasion.

The party rode north by way of Salisbury. Meeting Caldwell with his friend Robert Branthwaite, Ethan proceeded to hit Branthwaite, and

Soon after in a violent and angry manner stripped off his cloaths to his naked body and with a club struck . . . Caldwell on the head. . . .

Branthwaite grabbed the club and Ethan hit him again just as Luke Camp, the constable, appeared and arrested all three. Later, that same day, Ethan

stripped off his cloaths to his naked body and in a threatening manner with his fist lifted up repeated these malicious words three times: 'You (meaning George Caldwell) lie you dog' and also did with a loud voice say that he would spill the blood of any that opposed him.

None did oppose him and he decided to go on to Northampton, but before he could get away Luke Camp served him with a subpœna to appear before John Hutchinson a fortnight later and answer charges of breaking His Majesty's peace.

As Mary was expecting another child, she stayed in Salisbury with Heman until her husband returned. He was back in town on the 28th of October and probably remained until the child was born, a month later. As it was a boy, they named him Joseph, after his grandfather. In December, when snow had fallen, Ethan took Mary and the babies up to Northampton in his sleigh. Allens were moving again.

CHAPTER III

LEAD

APPARENTLY Israel Brownson put up the money to buy the lead mine. In such documents as mention it, he is spoken of as the owner and Ethan as the overseer, or rather, 'Oversear.' In this capacity he bought iron, powder, and steel for the work, paid the miners (usually 'in kind'), and superintended the excavation, which was extended to the depth of about fifty feet and drained by a pump worked by water-power.

There were two taverns close to the mines belonging to Timothy Pomeroy and Major Jonathan Clap. Ethan seems to have frequented the latter where he made friends with the Major's son, Jonathan Clap, Jr.

Abraham and Israel Brownson came to Northampton from time to time to look over the mine and visit their sister Mary. On one occasion, in November, 1766, they brought along a chest and left it in Ethan's house. When they returned in the spring, they opened the chest, took out some old clothes and offered to sell them to John Wood, a miner who was boarding with the Allens, but he did not buy any of them.

The lead mine was not a financial success. Before long, Jonathan Worner, a trader, was suing Ethan to collect twelve pounds eighteen shillings, for some articles including a 'Bever' hat.

Ethan's cousin, Joseph Allen, lived in Northampton. He was a man of property and of high standing in the community. His wife Betty, the midwife of the town, broke all records by assisting at the arrival of over three thousand Northamptonites. His son Thomas

(the famous Parson Allen) had married Jonathan Lee's daughter Elizabeth and had received a pastorate in western Massachusetts. Joseph himself was one of a little group who had remained loyal to Jonathan Edwards after he had been forced to leave the town.

While Ethan lived in Northampton, he evidently saw a good deal of Cousin Joseph. Betty attended Mary on certain occasions, while her husband lent the young father his copies of Jonathan Edwards's sermons.

Edwards, even now, is something of an anomaly in the minds of students of the period. The protagonist of Puritanism, he appeared upon the scene long after the final curtain had been dropped. Ethan, for example, was a more typical product of his age than Edwards, who, like the romantic poets of a century later, was shackled to the past by an imagination which overpowered his faculties of discernment. His theology was divorced from reason and from humanity. In a land of opportunity and an age of progress he preached determinism and infant damnation. He pictured the chosen few in blissful content watching the indescribable tortures of the eternally damned, and God hating human beings with an infinitely malignant hatred for sins which He had forced them to commit. The contrast between this hopeless, morbid, hell-fire predestination and the optimism of Thomas Young or the facetiousness of Charles Blount was the final impulse toward complete emancipation from a Puritan heredity. After reading Edwards's sermons, Ethan went about deliberately trying to shock people by swearing and scoffing. The Reverend Mr. Judd, the Congregational minister, occasionally visited the lead mines and 'reproved' Ethan for his 'profane jokes'; but he per-

sisted, which may account for the fact that he, like Edwards before him, was requested by the Selectmen to leave Northampton.

This occurred in July, 1767. Shortly afterwards, Ethan got out his ox-cart and hired Jonathan Clap, Jr., the son of the tavern-keeper, to help load his furniture. As her husband was busy winding up the business, Mary superintended the preparations for moving. When everything else was loaded, she told Jonathan to put her brothers' chest into the cart and told him it belonged to Abraham and Israel. When Ethan returned, they started for Salisbury. It was August, the load was heavy, but his oxen were used to hard work.

Heman was living over his general store in Salisbury. He invited Ethan and his family to live with him. Heman probably also offered to take his older brother into the business, but this Ethan declined. Evidently he spent the rest of the summer dreaming about philosophy and listening to the stories of people who were speculating in the New Hampshire Grants or were planning to move there to live. He remembered what Thomas Young had said on that subject. Finally, in the fall, he decided to go north, see this new country for himself and perhaps do a little hunting or buy some furs for Heman's store. He left his family in Heman's care and very likely set out with a party of pioneers moving to Bennington or Arlington. During the winter he traveled about on snowshoes, looking over the land, shooting deer, sleeping, wrapped in a bearskin, on the snow, or in the lonely cabin of a beaver trapper, living on frozen venison, salt pork, and corn meal. In the spring, having crossed the Green Mountains, he started down the Connecticut River. Passing through

Northampton, he chanced upon Jonathan Worner, the trader, who reminded him that he had never paid for the beaver hat.

It happened that Israel Brownson owed Worner more than Ethan did. As usual, Ethan was able to make a deal. Worner released him from his debt for the beaver hat, and at the same time gave him a power of attorney to sue Israel Brownson. Ethan was paying for his hat by trying to collect money from his brother-in-law. Worner evidently realized that, if Ethan couldn't do it, nobody could.

He was already involved with Israel in some sort of litigation concerning the old chest which Jonathan Clap, Jr., had loaded on the ox-cart at Mary's request. Ethan had managed to have Israel's farm in Woodbury attached, and at the same time was suing Israel's younger brothers, Stephen and Elijah, for 'Trespass.' It looks as though the lead mine had turned out so badly that Israel was unable to pay Ethan his back pay as overseer, so Ethan decided to keep the chest as security. Israel sent his younger brothers up to Salisbury to spirit away the chest — but they were caught, probably by Sister Mary with a broom in her hand.

The agreement with Jonathan Worner was made in March, 1768. In June, Ethan returned to Northampton and procured affidavits from John Wood and Jonathan Clap, Jr. The two cases were to come up in the November and January courts, but, as winter approached, Ethan decided to go on another real estate scouting expedition. He wrote out instructions for Brother Heman and left him to manage the cases with the assistance of a lawyer named Canfield, but Ethan warned his young brother not to settle the lawyer's bill in his absence. Ethan knew he could make better bar-

gains than anybody else in the family, but it was like him to go off chasing gold bricks and moose in the snow-covered mountains just when his cases were coming up in court.

If Heman won, he was to postpone enforcing the judgment against Israel until his brother returned. Ethan warned:

Take not his body if it be offered nor take out execution till I return. If Brownson exposes his bondsman it is well.

Ethan appreciated the utter valuelessness of a brother-in-law's body rotting in a debtor's prison. The upshot of it all was that Israel packed up his belongings and moved away to the New Hampshire Grants. It was just such people as he who were making this real estate development valuable. Debts, crop failures, over-expansion of industries, missteps, and mistakes were forcing men and women out beyond the frontier into the wilderness, where there were only simple material obstacles such as rocks to break plows, Indians to frighten children, wolves to steal venison, cold and hunger to shatter hope. When peddlers came to town selling lots in the New Hampshire Grants, men sold their horses, their homes, and their souls, to buy new land, and disappeared into the wilderness to start life over again.

Watching them go, confident and optimistic, believing they had left their troubles behind, expecting to find success somewhere, somehow, in the 'new lands,' Ethan felt the spell of the magnet which had been drawing his ancestors, generation after generation, to the new frontier. When he had tasted the freedom of the woods, the old forms seemed confining: Salisbury was fifty miles from the frontier now.

CHAPTER IV

LAND

THE Peace of Paris (1763) opened to settlement the country north of Massachusetts Bay between Lake Champlain and the Connecticut River. Though it was not quite clear to what province this territory belonged, Benning Wentworth, Royal Governor of New Hampshire, chartered towns therein. Would-be settlers turned to him for grants of land. According to his charters the towns, six miles square, were divided into about sixty-four proprietors' rights of about three hundred sixty acres each. One of these rights was reserved as a glebe for the Church of England, one for the first settled minister, one for a school, one for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and two for the Governor. The rest were granted to business men and speculators who, in turn, peddled lots to would-be pioneers.

The first of these towns, settled immediately after the war, was named (with due respect to its promoter) Bennington. Its founding drew the attention of the Governor of New York to this territory and led him to claim it for his Province on the basis of the Duke of York's Charter. The King acknowledged this claim and, in 1764, proclaimed the Connecticut River the boundary between the two provinces, thus placing Wentworth's towns within the jurisdiction of New York. That would appear to be a simple event, but Cadwallader Colden, the Lieutenant-Governor of New York, gave a retroactive interpretation to this edict: if the land really belonged to New York, Wentworth

had no right to grant it. Therefore it had not been legally granted at all, and Colden as Acting Governor was at liberty to grant it over again to New-Yorkers. The settlers were faced with rebuying their land or moving off, but instead of doing either they sent Samuel Robinson, head man of Bennington, to London to plead their case before His Majesty. He found an ally in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Together they procured from the King, in 1767, a decree that the Governor of New York should stop granting lands until His Majesty could have the matter looked into. Unfortunately the provincial governors could make enormous fortunes out of land grants. Some of them appear to have ignored His Majesty completely in this matter. But the edict did give the settlers something to show when Yorkers tried to seize their farms. Sam Robinson never received the thanks of his people, for he died before he could recross the sea. London life had been too much for the old man of the woods.

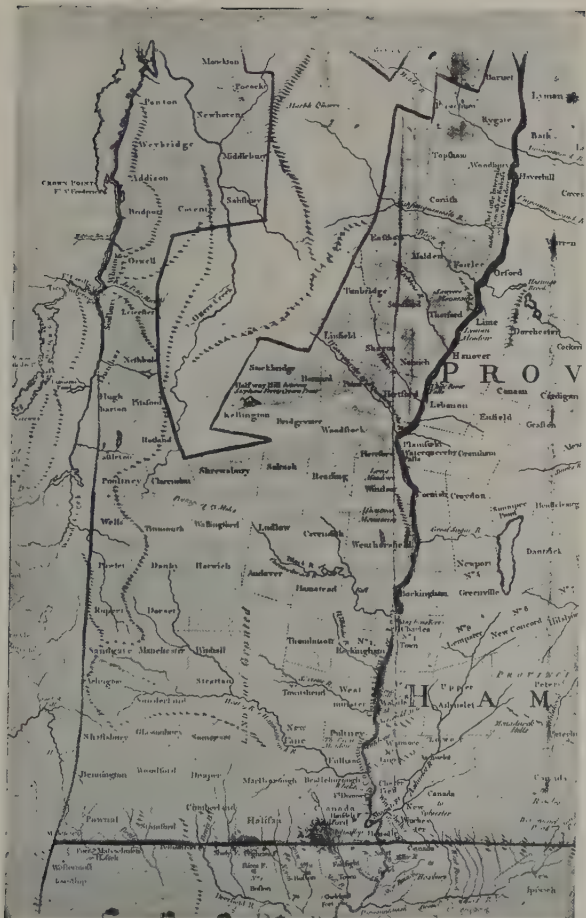
As time passed, the controversy became acute. When surveyors were sent by New York grantees to locate their property, they found it occupied by New Hampshire settlers, who refused to let them run their lines. Pioneers who had in good faith obtained charters for their land from the King's representative refused to give it up to New York claimants or to pay for it over again. When other methods failed, the Yorkers had recourse to the law. A certain Major John Small and the Reverend Mr. Slaughter, New York title-holders, brought actions of ejectment against the occupants of their land, James Breakenridge, Samuel Rose, Isaiah Carpenter, and Josiah Fuller.

The New Hampshire proprietors of the land in

question were Connecticut men, mostly living in or near Salisbury. When they heard of the impending trials, they realized that this was to be the test case of their speculation. A number of them met in Sharon in January, 1770, and decided to hold a general meeting of Hampshire claimants in March, at Charles Burrall's house in Canaan. At that meeting it was agreed that each proprietor pay half a dollar to be used for defending their cause. And Charles Burrall was appointed treasurer and receiver-general of all monies so collected. A third meeting was held at Charles Burrall's early in June.

Ethan was present at this if not at all of the meetings. The older proprietors must have been impressed by his zeal and intelligence, for they selected him to manage the defense at Albany, and put the money in his hands. At their suggestion, he rode to Portsmouth, the capital of New Hampshire, to obtain from the Governor a copy of the charter of the township which contained the disputed land. John Wentworth had succeeded his uncle Benning. He seems to have convinced Ethan that the New Hampshire Grants would not be repudiated, for, while he was in Portsmouth, he bought Daniel Warner's right in the town of Poultney for four pounds, and, passing through Springfield a few days later, he bought Zenas Person's right in Castleton for six pounds. These transactions — just before the trial — bear witness to Ethan's confidence in his success. Confidence was responsible for a great deal of his success.

On the way back, at Governor Wentworth's suggestion, Ethan stopped at New Haven and engaged Jared Ingersoll to accompany him to Albany and prepare a brief for the defense. Ingersoll was the leading lawyer



THE NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS
From a map of 1770

of Connecticut Province, a conservative who had been for some years the agent of Connecticut in London and was well known at Court. The fact that he would take the case for the New Hampshire settlers is a proof that among the intelligent and wealthy people of New England there was a strong conviction of the justice of the cause. It may also (once again) be an indication of Ethan's powers of persuasion.

They rode to Albany together and there retained a lawyer named Sylvester to drill the witnesses and plead in court. The first case to come up was that of John Small *vs.* Josiah Carpenter. It was tried before Judges Robert Livingston and George Duncan Ludlow. The plaintiffs proved a title derived from New York. The defendant offered the New Hampshire charter of Shaftesbury as evidence that the land in question had been granted to him and his associates. The plaintiffs' counsel objected that no evidence had been given to prove that the Province of New Hampshire ever included the lands in question or that its Governor had authority to grant them. The justices allowed the objection and precluded the defendant from giving the New Hampshire Crown charter (although earlier in date than the New York charter) as evidence.

In view of the court's action, it must be mentioned that the Lieutenant-Governor, the presiding judge, the Attorney-General, and the lawyer for the plaintiffs were known to be New York grantees of large tracts of the land in question. As Ethan afterwards described the trial:

The plaintiffs appearing in great state and magnificence, which, together with their junto of land thieves, made a brilliant appearance; but the defendants appearing but in

ordinary fashion having been greatly fatigued by hard labor wrought on the disputed premises, and their cash much exhausted, made a very disproportionate figure at court. In fine, interest, conviction and grandeur being all on one side, easily turned the scale against the honest defendants, and judgments without mercy, in favor of the claimants under New York were given against them.

At the close of the trial the Yorkers had the law on their side, but the Yankees had possession on their side, and they spent the next five years demonstrating the axiom that possession is nine points of the law.

The morning after the trial, John Tabor Kempe and James Duane, the Attorney-General of the Province and the lawyer for the plaintiffs, called on Ethan and offered to give him a large tract of land if he would espouse their cause and try to establish peace and harmony. He rejected the proposal without hesitation. Kempe then observed that the people settled on the New Hampshire Grants should be advised to make the best terms possible with their landlords, for might often prevailed against right. Ethan remarked, 'The Gods of the hills are not the Gods of the valleys.' When Kempe asked for an explanation, Ethan replied: 'If you will accompany me to the hill of Bennington, the sense will be made clear.' But no one volunteered to do so. Instead the lawyers suggested he had better have a drink with them, and talk things over before he started. Duane offered to pay his expenses to Bennington and back, if he would try to talk the settlers into making the best of a bad bargain. Seeing in this offer a chance to keep the Yorkers guessing, Ethan agreed to let them supply him with a horse to go to Bennington.

When Ethan reached town, the principal citizens gathered at Landlord Fay's to hear his description of

the trials. On the strength of what he said, they resolved to resort to force if necessary to defend their homes and their New Hampshire titles against the claims of the New-Yorkers. They formed a military association, a sort of unauthorized militia, to give force to their resolves. The 'Colonel Commandant,' of course, was Ethan, the bright young man who had, so to speak, jumped in and taken hold of things — of the Albany situation, of the settlers' lassitude, and of quite a lot of land titles. His cousins, Remember Baker and Seth Warner, were lieutenants, as well as Robert Cochran and Gideon Warren.

When Ethan took the horse back to Albany, he informed the anxiously awaiting Yorkers 'that everything would soon be adjusted.' But he did not explain to them the method by which this was to be accomplished. However, they soon heard of the resolves of the settlers and of the activities of Ethan's army. Lieutenant-Governor Colden was furious and threatened to drive them into the Green Mountains. They dared him to test his laws against the law of self-preservation and called themselves Green Mountain Boys.

CHAPTER V

THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS

As usual, Ethan was head man. He had been manager of the furnace and overseer of the lead mine; now he was Colonel Commandant of the Green Mountain Boys. In every case he talked the others into letting him run the show. There was something about his enthusiasm, volubility, self-confidence, or smile which fascinated these people. At Landlord Fay's in Bennington they said he could mix the best drinks and tell the best stories of anybody who came to town, and in the woods he had a reputation for traveling fast and killing many deer. There is a story, Brother Ira used to tell, beginning:

He was fond of hunting game in his youth, run after deer tired them down or turned them by often firing on them so as to kill them by night. I remember to have heard him tell that one day in Poultney he came across a company of Deer and killed one which he dressed hung up the Skin and Meat then to preserve that from the Ravens hung his hat on it and went on. He soon killed another deer; with that he left a short hunting Jaccoat and went on; killed another deer — with that left his Frock and went on and killed another — with that left his Breeches then pursued the deer and killed another — took the skin about him and went to his camp.

Another time late in the fall after being much fatigued and raining in the after part of the day so that he had not a dry thread about him got bewildered and lay out all night; the weather cleared off extremely cold — it was out of his power to make any fire — his clothes began to freeze on him — he knew not what course to take — an extensive wilderness on one side — in this situation —



CATAMOUNT TAVERN IN BENNINGTON WHERE ETHAN ALLEN
AND THE OTHERS LAID PLANS TO CAPTURE THE FORTRESS
OF TICONDEROGA

he thought it most prudent to mark out a path in a circle in which he could keep himself awake by going 'round not daring to sit down lest he should fall asleep and perish this I have often heard him say was among the greatest hazards of his life and required the greatest exertion both of body and mind to preserve life till day being much fatigued by travelling all day without victuals benumbed with the cold became sleepy . . . of Every exertion he repeatedly fell in the snow; this would so far bring him to his senses that he would spring on his feet in a few minutes fall again; when daylight came he came more to himself and after travelling a short time came fully to his senses. His clothes were froze except shirt to his skin — before noon he reached a house where he got some refreshment!

Ira describes his brother in hunting clothes which he wore most of the time. But before very long he evolved some sort of uniform for himself as Colonel Commandant. No description of it exists, but it surely had epaulettes, gold braid, big, shining buttons . . . Ethan knew how to impress mountain boys. He went about with a small band of followers (Yorkers called them rioters and the Bennington mob) stirring up the settlers to resist the encroachments of their unwelcome landlords. When he came upon surveyors running lines in the forest, he set up a 'Judgment Seat' under some huge, old pine tree, tried them on the spot, and often had them stripped and whipped, calling the punishment 'Chastisement with the Twigs of the Wilderness.' Both the settlers and Yorkers respected him, and stories of his prowess and strength began to get about among the people. They said he could seize by his teeth, and throw over his head, bags containing each a bushel of salt, as fast as two men could bring them round to him; that he had grasped two enemies, one in each hand, and, lifting them off the

ground, held them out at arms' length, and beat them together till they cried for mercy; and that he had engaged alone with a York sheriff and his posse of six men, leaving them all sprawling on the ground. Ethan probably invented stories and told them to the credulous settlers whom he visited in their solitary cabins, but others were based on the experiences of his victims. John Munro, an old offender, was taken, tried, and ordered to be whipped on his naked back. He was tied to a tree and flogged till he fainted; on recovering, he was whipped again till he fainted; he revived and underwent a third lashing till he fainted; his wounds were then dressed and he was banished from the district of the New Hampshire Grants.

Once Ethan captured two New York sheriffs. He locked them in separate rooms on the same side of a house, and during the night tied an effigy to the limb of a tree outside their windows. At dawn he awakened one prisoner after the other, and told him to look out of the window to see his companion swinging from a tree. Each was allowed to escape believing he had just missed a terrible death, a conviction which lasted until he met the other on the streets of Albany.

Dr. Samuel Adams, of Arlington, openly declared himself a partisan of New York. His neighbors tried advice and warnings. The Doctor armed himself with a brace of pistols, and proclaimed his opinions more loudly and decidedly than ever. He announced his full determination to defend himself to the best of his ability against any person who should approach him with unfriendly design.

When the case was reported to Ethan, he sent a squad of Green Mountain Boys to capture the contu-

macious doctor. They caught him unawares as he was leaving his house. When the prisoner had been tried and convicted, Ethan sentenced him to be tied in a chair, hoisted up the sign-post of Stephen Fay's tavern at Bennington (a twenty-five-foot gallows surmounted by a stuffed catamount grinning toward New York), and left there for an hour. Afterwards, the Doctor returned to Arlington, but insisted on his opinion no more.

A further indication of the success of Ethan's propaganda (backed by the 'Twigs of the Wilderness') is the fact that in the spring of 1771 he was able to sell a right in the town of Castleton for twenty-four pounds. This was the land he had bought from Zenas Person, the Springfield bricklayer, for six pounds, just a year before. The three hundred per cent increase in value shows what Ethan's Green Mountain Boys had already done for the Wentworths' real estate bubble. Ethan did not miss the lesson of these figures. His youngest brother Ira had become a surveyor and was as familiar with the Grants as he, so they decided to go into business together. As partners they bought thirty-two rights of land in Hubbardton, paying sixty pounds for nearly twelve thousand acres (about a penny an acre). At the same time the two brothers bought four rights in Castleton, and Ethan, by himself, a small house in Poultney.

This house may have been intended for a speculation, for a friend, or for Brother Heber, who came this year to live in Poultney. Ethan's family remained in Salisbury, and he always went home in the winter months. There was no danger of York surveyors running lines when the ground was covered with snow, and Salisbury was a good market for New Hamp-

shire Grants lots. But most of the time he was up north chasing Yorkers and bargains. He stayed at Landlord Fay's in Bennington, at Brother Heber's in Poultney, at Cousin Remember Baker's in Arlington, at Paul Moore's in Shoreham, at the McIntoshes' near New Haven Falls, but he spent weeks at a time in the woods sleeping wherever he happened to be at nightfall. He was too busy to be homesick, but he often thought of his boy Joseph, and liked to dream of his going to college and having everything his father had missed. When he was away from home, Heman, who kept the store in Salisbury, looked after Mary and the children. There were five by now: Loraine, Joseph, Lucy Caroline, Mary Ann, and Pamelia. Mary was not well and complained of pains in her chest; she was nervous, inclined to scold, and more pious than ever; she was forty now, and Ethan was thirty-four.

He bought the Poultney house from a man named Sam Brown, who lived in Berkshire County, Massachusetts Bay. They signed the contract on the 30th of May, 1771, in Sam's home town. Ethan had left Salisbury a week or so before, and was evidently on his way north for the spring fighting. When he reached Bennington, he heard that a New York surveyor had been seen in Pittsford, about fifty miles to the north. With a squad of picked men he hurried north at once. Settlers along the way helped them locate their objective in Clarendon. They disguised themselves as Indians, blacking their faces with roots, and came upon the surveyor, an Albany man named William Cockburn, working with his linesmen in the woods.

Ethan asked Cockburn what he was doing, and told him that if he was running lines for Yorkers he had

better stop if he wanted to get back to Albany alive. Cockburn then asked some of the settlers, who were watching him work, for advice. They told him that he would surely be murdered if he did not stop running lines and go home. But Ethan said that if he would promise never to run any more in that part of the country, he would be allowed to escape by way of Colonel Skene's estate at the head of Lake Champlain. Cockburn promised and started for Albany forthwith. As he rode along the Crown Point road, women, peering from their cabins, prayed that he might never return.

When Ethan returned to Bennington, he learned that the sheriff of Albany with a posse of one hundred fifty men had been there a few days before to demand James Breakenridge's farm in the name of the New York owner. The people assembled with such a show of determination and force that the sheriff did not dare approach Breakenridge's house in order to serve the writ of possession. This affair made a deep impression on the settlers and united them in their opposition to New York.

Early in the fall word was sent in to Ethan's headquarters at Landlord Fay's that Yorkers were settling in New Perth. Taking eight men with him, he started for this hornets' nest at once. Arriving he found that a veteran named Charles Hutcheson, who had received a grant of land for his services in the French and Indian War, had built a cabin and was clearing land. According to Charles's affidavit, Ethan's men surrounded his cabin and started to tear it down. He asked them to stop, whereupon Ethan said:

They would burn it for that morning they had resolved to offer a burnt Sacrifice to the Gods of the World in burning the Logs of that house.

While Ethan and Remember Baker held clubs over Charles's head, their men kindled fires at the four corners of the house. Ethan then said:

Go your way now and complain to that Damned Scoundrel your Governor. God Damn your Governor, Laws, King, Council and Assembly.

Charles started to reprove him for swearing, whereupon Ethan added:

God Damn your Soul, are you going to preach to us? When Ethan let go of his collar, Charles fled to Albany, where he told the authorities what had happened, adding:

The deponent is also credibly informed said Allen denys the Being of a God and that there is any Infernal Spirit.

Ethan returned to his headquarters in Bennington. The farmers harvested hay and corn and sowed winter wheat, the leaves turned and fell, the ponds froze and snow covered the ground, but there were no more disturbances from Yorkers. Before the year ended, however, a messenger brought news from Albany that Charles had complained to the authorities: Governor Tryon was furious and had outlawed Ethan as well as eight of his assistants and was offering a reward of twenty pounds for their arrest.

The Benningtonites reacted to this news by holding a review of their army, on New Year's Day, 1772. Ethan undoubtedly appeared in uniform, and there was a cannon which the settlers had dragged from an abandoned fort on the Hoosick River, but probably no balls or powder for it. In the course of the afternoon an Albany man named Benjamin Buck called at Stephen Fay's tavern, where he found Ethan and a

number of others assembled reading the Governor's proclamation. Somebody asked Benjamin what he thought of it and he answered:

My opinion is that York Government will hold all the lands.

Upon which Ethan came up behind Benjamin, struck him three times, and said:

You are a damn bastard of old Munro's. We shall make a Hell of his house and burn him in it, and every son of a bitch that will take his part.

Benjamin answered:

If it should be the right of New Hampshire, might would overcome right.

Ethan said:

How can you be such a damn fool? Have we not always overcome them, here and one hundred miles to the northward? If they shall ever come again we shall drive them two hundred miles and send them to Hell.

Somebody read the Governor's name from the proclamation. Ethan (addressing that magistrate as if he were present) remarked:

So your name is Tryon. Try on and be damned.

Benjamin couldn't stand it any longer. He left Landlord Fay's and hurried back to Albany to tell his friends what the Benningtonites were saying.

Ethan also left town, not long after the New Year's party, to go to Salisbury for his usual winter trip. As he needed money to pay for his land in Hubbardton and Castleton, he went over to Cornwall and managed to sell most of what was left of the family farm. Then, instead of spending the rest of the winter in Salisbury with Mary and the children, he went north again at

once, going straight to his new house in Poultney. Cousin Remember Baker and Robert Cochran (both lieutenants of the Green Mountain Boys) came to see him and apparently had a good deal to say about the price on their heads. Cochran had been telling people he was a son of Robin Hood and intended to follow his way of life. None of them took the reward business seriously, and, before parting, concocted a poster of their own, announcing:

£25 REWARD. — Whereas James Duane and John Kempe, of New York, have by their menaces and threats greatly disturbed the public peace and repose of the honest peasants of Bennington and the settlements to the northward, which are now and ever have been in the peace of God and the King, and are patriotic and liege subjects of Geo. the 3rd. Any person that will apprehend these common disturbers. viz: James Duane and John Kempe, and bring them to Landlord Fay's, at Bennington shall have £15 reward for James Duane and £10 reward for John Kempe, paid by

ETHAN ALLEN
REMEMBER BAKER
ROBERT COCHRAN

Dated Poultney,
Feb. 5, 1772.

Both Duane and Kempe were prominent New York lawyers, one the son-in-law of Robert Livingston, the other the Attorney-General of the Province. The suggestion of their being kidnaped for exhibition at a log tavern in the wilderness was the best possible answer to Tryon's attempt to suppress the Green Mountain Boys' activities by calling them felons and offering rewards for their heads. Ethan's talent for propaganda was blossoming, and he had enough humanity (or sense of humor) to use it instead of bul-

lets. Compare him with Robespierre or Lenin: a sense of humor almost never occurs in revolutionary leaders.

Ethan took his poster down to Hartford to be printed, Cochran went back to Bennington, and Remember Baker, home to Arlington. When John Munro (the New York Justice of the Peace of that neighborhood) heard that Remember had come home, he decided to try for the Governor's reward. He collected a band of twelve or fifteen Scotchmen who were living on New York patents in the vicinity, surrounded Remember's house in the night, broke down the door with an axe, and captured him in his bed. When their victim showed signs of resisting, they wounded him as well as his wife, dragged them both from the bed, and, leaving her lying naked on the floor, took him off in a sleigh toward New York. His wife was but slightly hurt and able to reach the nearest neighbors' cabin and tell them what had occurred. They roused some of the settlers, who galloped after the sleigh, caught up with it about thirty miles from Arlington, and rescued Remember.

When Ethan heard of his cousin's close shave, he wrote a vivid description of 'this wicked, inhuman, most barbarous, infamous, cruel, villainous and thievish act,' and sent it to the 'Connecticut Courant,' the Hartford weekly which everybody in that part of the country read. At the same time he wrote a series of editorials presenting the case of the settlers in strong, bombastic, grammarless phrases that appealed to woods people in exactly the same way that Ethan himself appealed to them. He called a spade a spade and the Governor of New York — 'the massacreing G—— Tryon' and his Councillors — 'mercenary,

intriguing, monopolizing men, an infamous fraternity of diabolical plotters.' He asked:

When New York by the handle of jurisdiction, aim at the property of the inhabitants, and that flagrantly can they expect obedience?

And, again:

Can the New York scribblers, by the art of printing alter wrong into right, or make any person of good sense believe that a great number of hard labouring peasants, going through the fatigues of settlement, and cultivation of a howling wilderness, are a community of riotous, disorderly, licentious, treasonable persons?

He mentioned:

Women sobbing and lamenting, Children crying and Men pierced to the heart with sorrow and indignation, at the approaching tyranny of New York.

These are just samples to show that Ethan was mastering his art. The 'Courant' articles became immensely popular, a fact which impressed upon their author, more forcibly than ever, that words are more powerful than bullets.

Ethan wrote his editorials during the quiet months February and March at Salisbury. He evidently had a good deal of leisure that winter, for besides the poster and the editorials he wrote a very long letter to Colonel Skene.

This Colonel Skene, as has already been mentioned, lived at the head of navigation of Lake Champlain. Seeing this spot in 1759, a young officer of Amherst's army reconnoitering the approaches to Ticonderoga, he had been at once attracted by it. Perhaps it was the high white cliffs crested with evergreens, the huge

icicles flashing in the winter sun, or perhaps the commercial advantages of such a location which enchanted his Scotch fancy. At any rate, he returned to London and procured from the Board of Trade a grant of nearly thirty thousand acres of land in the vicinity. Returning with tenants, indentured servants, and slaves, he built a great stone house, mills, docks, boats, and operated mines, stores, and a post-office.

When the land-title controversy arose, Skenesboro became a sort of sanctuary in the belligerent area: its title was derived neither from New York nor Portsmouth, but directly from London. Living the life of an English squire in the midst of the American wilderness, the Colonel entertained, from time to time, the other squires of the neighborhood. There was Breakenridge in Bennington, Jehiel Hawley, founder of Arlington and lay reader of its Church of England congregation (that would appeal to the would-be squire), Amos Bird, 'Moderator' and principal landholder of Castleton, and Ethan — young, but clearly a coming man.

Now, in keeping with his idea of what a squire should be, Skene had himself appointed a Justice of the Peace — by New York. In time it became his duty to arrest Ethan. But Skene really liked the young 'Colonel Commandant.' Besides, it infringed on his ideas of hospitality to arrest a former guest. Therefore, in the fall of 1771, he sent a message by Ebenezer Allen, who was living in Poultney, begging Ethan to 'repair to Connecticut' and stay there until things quieted down — or else, as a Justice of the Peace, Skene would be obliged to arrest him. To this Ethan replied with a long letter, written at Salisbury in March, 1772, announcing:

Tho, I Cannot Dispute Your friendship to me Yet I Now Inform You that I Cannot flee to Connecticut I have a Spirit above that I shall stay in Your Neighbourhood I hope Till I Remove to the Kingdom of heaven Your Generous & Sotiable Treatment to me when at Your house Prompts me to write to You Tho Your Station in Life is Honourable and Commands Submission from Those of an Inferior rank Yet it is Your Personal Merit that Demands Esteem Ever Since my Small Acquaintance with You I have Retained the Most honourable Sentiments Toward You Not onely as the Most Consummate politician whose Eye pierces through Humane Nature but also as one that acts from Generous and brave principles from hence I have Infer'd You would Not be an Adversary to the Setlers . . . Nor have I Ever had Ground to Distrust Your friendship Either to me or them I Do Not Esteem You Merely Because You are Colo Scane but Because You act the Honourable part a man is Either famous or Infamous in Proportion as Either Brave or Mean are the principles of his Conduct by this Rule Undoubtedly You will pass Sentence on my Past and future Conduct if by this Rule I can be Denominated Disorderly and Riotous I Desire You would be my adversary but if Otherways my friend S^r the law of Self preservation Urges me to Defend my Property.

He also mentioned:

S^r You have heard many Accounts of my Conduct Called by the Name of Riatous Disorderly &cce and it is probable before Next Campaign is out You may hear more Such Sort of News I am Informed Governour Tryon has Advertised me and some Others and Offered Considerable Reward to have us Delivered at New York But a Late account from there Informs me that by Virtue of a Late Law in Province they are Not Allowed to hang any man before they have ketched him.

In the spring, when the snow had melted and the mud had dried, Ethan started for the field of battle. According to Benjamin Spencer, a Yorker who lived in

Clarendon, Ethan brought with him from Connecticut 'twelve or fifteen of the most blackguard fellows he can get double armed in order to protect him.' Soon after he arrived, John Munro wrote to James Duane:

Since my last to you and my other friends the rascally Yankees spoiled my best hat and sword coat with their Pumpkin sticks . . . it is shameful to hear the sentiments of the wicked ones amongst them, they even go so far as to deny a Divine being And will not suffer a Bible in their Houses; whatever can be expected from such men but to serve the Devil. . . . They have great many friends in the County of Albany and particularly in the City of Albany which encourages them in their wickedness!

The attitude of the Dutch Albanians, which Munro admitted to his principal, was not a secret to Ethan, and, when some of his cronies at Landlord Fay's bet him he would not leave a copy of his poster at Landlord Benedict's in Albany, he accepted without hesitation. Accordingly, he rode to Albany a few days later (about the first of April), and, hitching his horse before the tavern, entered the tap-room and called for a bowl of punch. His face and figure were so well known that a crowd gathered at once, but he finished his punch, handed the poster to the host, left the house, mounted his horse, and galloped away. The fact that he was able to do so proves that the Albanians sympathized with the New Hampshire settlers; these Dutchmen would have taken sides with anybody against their New York masters.

However, there were people who wanted the Governor's twenty pounds. Ethan was once surprised in the cabin of a man named Richardson in Bridport, by a squad of regulars from Fort Frederick, at Crown Point on Lake Champlain. With his friend Eli Robards he

had put up at Mr. Richardson's for the night, news which was somehow conveyed to the regulars who happened to be in the vicinity. They came to the cabin at once, but, on entering, pretended they did not know who Ethan was. He realized he was trapped, but, as both he and Eli were armed, decided to await developments. After supper he invited the soldiers to drink a bowl of punch with him and they accepted — not realizing that Ethan was an expert at drinking bowls of punch. He told his best stories, drank toasts to the King, the Queen, and everybody else he could think of, ordering successive bowls of punch. The soldiers enjoyed themselves so much that before long they had completely forgotten the mission which had produced this party. At a given signal Ethan and Eli stepped out of the room, Richardson's daughter (who had fallen for our hero) handed them their guns and pistols through the window, and they disappeared into the forest long before the befuddled soldiers realized that the 'life of the party' was missing. He and Eli, meanwhile, were making their way to Paul Moore's hut in Shoreham. On arriving the trapper furnished them with a supper of bear meat and a bed of corn stalks. In the morning they set out for Bennington.

CHAPTER VI

PROPAGANDA

BUSY with his poster and its consequences, Ethan did not spend much time at Salisbury in the spring of 1772. At Bennington, in May, he received from Brother Heman an express containing the news that Tryon, with a detachment of regulars, was on his way up the Hudson. Ethan immediately arranged a meeting of his lieutenants, as well as 'the elders of the people,' at Breakenridge's house and induced them to pass a unanimous vote in favor of opposing Tryon should he invade the Grants. The 'old people' agreed to furnish the necessary supplies and retired, leaving 'the manner of defense' in Ethan's hands. He planned a neat ambush for the regulars and dispatched his brother Ira to Albany to discover the Governor's plans.

Ira soon returned with word that the troops were on their way to relieve the garrison at Detroit and had no designs against the Grants. The ambush was abandoned, the farmers returned to their spring plowing, but the rumor had served its purpose by furnishing Ethan an occasion for exhibiting his ability to take more than his share of responsibility. In this case responsibility was the least of his troubles: both his land and his neck were at stake.

Governor Tryon, however, did not sail up the Hudson without something for the troublesome member of his family: he brought a letter addressed to Parson Dewey and the inhabitants of Bennington, inviting them to send envoys to lay their case before him. He

even suggested the envoys he would like: Parson Dewey, Landlord Fay, and Farmer Breakenridge; adding that he could not promise protection to Ethan, Cochran, Baker, or Sevil — perhaps he felt that if he had them in his hands it would take superhuman forbearance to resist removing their heads.

The Benningtonites sent Stephen and Jonas Fay as envoys to His Excellency. But the tavern-keeper and his son were armed with a long letter written by Ethan and signed by the four proscribed men. It presented the whole case of the New Hampshire claimants, leaving nothing for the Fays to do but read it to the Governor. He expected no philippic from the wilderness and must have been amazed by such Rousseauistic phrases as, 'arguments deduced from reason and the nature of things.' And:

No tyrannical exertions of the powers of government can deter us from asserting and vindicating our undoubted rights and privileges as Englishmen.

And again:

Laws and society compacts were made to protect and secure the subjects, in their peaceable possessions and properties, and not to subvert them. No person or community of persons can be supposed to be under any particular compact or Law, except it presupposeth, that that Law will protect such person or community of persons in his or their properties; for otherways, the subject would, by Law, be bound to be accessory to his own ruin and destruction, which is inconsistent with the Law of self preservation; but this Law being natural as well as eternal, can never be abrogated by the Law of men.

While Landlord Fay and his son were carrying this letter to New York, a messenger brought news to Bennington that Surveyor Cockburn had reappeared

in the north. Ethan, with a small party, started after him at once. On the way north they came upon a settlement of Scotchmen living on a tract, near the mouth of Otter Creek, which had been granted by the Governor of New York to a certain Colonel Reid. They had located their patron's land about a year before this and, finding some New Hampshire men living on it, had driven them off and taken possession of their stores and sawmills. Ethan now retaliated by driving off the Scotchmen and bringing back the New Hampshire claimants who had lingered in the neighborhood. Proceeding north, he found Cockburn and, after breaking his chains and compasses, marched him and his assistants to Castleton. Ethan was about to try his prisoner when a messenger arrived with news that Tryon had forgiven the proscribed men (the style of Ethan's letter must have been too much for the Governor), so he let Cockburn escape for a second time and hurried to Bennington.

The Fays' return from New York, bringing good news from the Governor, created a sensation. People came from far and near to hear Stephen read the decree from a platform in front of his tavern, and were delighted with the news that all prosecutions and civil suits against the settlers were to be suspended until His Majesty's pleasure should be known. The Bennington 'artillery' (the gun which had been dragged from the old fort at the falls of the Hoosick) was fired, and toasts were drunk to the King, the Governor, and the Council of New York; Universal Peace, Plenty, Liberty, Property, and probably whatever else the up-and-coming landlord could think of. In short, the meeting was such a success that it was decided to hold another at Manchester a month later. Representatives

of ten towns lying between Lake Champlain and the Green Mountains came together on the 27th of August. Ethan was appointed 'Clerk for said Committee.' That was the first public recognition of his new status: he was now, officially, Public Relations Counsel as well as Colonel Commandant of the Green Mountain Boys.

The Governor, meanwhile having heard of Cockburn's fate and the Scotch settlers' debacle, sent a furious letter to 'The Inhabitants of Bennington and the adjacent country,' which it devolved on Ethan, as clerk, to read at the Manchester meeting. He had already prepared a reply which the representatives of the people were only too glad to adopt. Such bodies like to shift responsibility onto the shoulders of a minority or an individual who is willing to take it: Ethan's willingness was becoming more and more marked, and the New Hampshire farmers left their fate in his hands, but some of them (as always) grumbled and complained to each other that he was too eager to run the show. Seth Warner, second in command of the Green Mountain Boys, a steady, uninspired man, was inclined to be jealous of his superior, and the good Congregationalists of Bennington objected to his profanity, and profanation of their creed. But none of the others could touch him (and they knew it) when it came to writing briefs or explaining away such seeming inconsistencies as ejecting Colonel Reid's Scotchmen from their homes just when Landlord Fay was attending the Governor's peace conference. As Ethan informed him, the only objects of the Green Mountain Boys were:

Firstly, the protecting and maintaining our property, and secondly, to use the greatest care and prudence, not

to break the articles of public faith or insult governmental authority.

This really makes it look as though it were Tryon and his minions, Colonel Reid and Surveyor Cockburn, who were upsetting the King's peace. The convention promptly approved the letter and sent it off to the Governor, agreeing to reassemble in October at the same place. Since the edicts and statutes of the Governor and Provincial Congress of New York no longer had any effect on the people of the Grants, their government really consisted of Ethan as Dictator and the conventions of representatives of the Town Committees as his Council. Like all dictators he had the army on his side but was distrusted by many elderly conservatives who could not get used to taking short cuts. Like all dictators, he ignored their opinion completely.

During the interval between the two conventions, Ethan, Cousin Remember, and five others took a trip to Onion River. One day they came upon a strange boat, and, guessing that it belonged to a New York surveyor, hid it in the bushes. They had guessed correctly, for, before long, a man, whom they recognized as Surveyor Stevens, appeared with two chainmen, and, finding that his boat was missing, went off to look for it, leaving his assistants at camp. Ethan and his party then jumped out of the bushes, seized the two astonished Yorkers, and announced that they were going to burn them alive. They begged for mercy until the Green Mountain Boys decided merely to tie them in their boat and destroy their camp and surveying instruments.

Meanwhile, a friendly Indian had informed Stevens what was going on at his camp. Early in the morning,

he returned in the Indian's canoe to find his assistants still bound in his canoe. The Green Mountain Boys were finishing his provisions and rum. After telling Stevens he should be thankful they hadn't burned him and all his men, the Green Mountain Boys released the prisoners, gave them back their boat, and hurried south to Manchester.

The October convention appointed James Breakenridge of Bennington and Jehiel Hawley of Arlington to go to London and lay the case of the settlers before the Board of Trade. Breakenridge was one of the most ardent of the New Hampshire partisans, but Hawley was a conservative with Yorkish leanings.

On the way home, Ethan stopped at Amos Bird's in Castleton. Perhaps Jehiel Hawley was with him. All three were close friends of Skene's, who had asked them to influence the inhabitants to sign a petition which he was circulating asking Governor Tryon to make Skenesboro the capital of the new county of Charlotte. From Castleton Ethan wrote to Skene:

It is not Dissatisfaction Towards You or Dislike to Your Situation which is the Cause the Inhabitants in these parts Do Not sign Your Petition but because we Imagine it would Counteract our Petition Now Lying before his Majesty & Council for our Annexment to the province of Newhampshire if it will be of service to You that we in These parts Inform his Excellency Governor Tryon the reason of our Not Signing Your Petition we are ready to Do it or any Other Service that will Not Interfere with our Interest Nay we are Willing to Inform his Excellency that were it a Settled Point we were to remain in the Government of New York We Should be Very Desirous Your Manor Should be Appointed the head of the County as it will beyond Dispute better Commode the County than any Other Place Not Only from Its Centrical Situation but on account of Trade and Com-

merce some People are Very blamable for Giving You Wrong representations relative to the matters aforesaid. The above You may Depend Upon as Truth.

A little later, Ethan, Bird, and Skene concocted a scheme to have all of New York north of the Mohawk, on both shores of Lake Champlain, formed into a separate Royal Province with Skenesboro its capital. Shortly after this Bird died, but Skene went to London and obtained an appointment as Governor of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. His Province project was regarded favorably at Court, but, before it could be carried out, circumstances arose which prevented His Majesty from creating any new Provinces — it was more than he could do to keep those he already had.

CHAPTER VII

THE ONION RIVER COMPANY

SOMETIME in the summer of 1772, Ira came and stayed in the Poultney house while he was recuperating from an attack of boils on one of his knees. He had just returned from a trip down Lake Champlain with Remember Baker. He was convinced that the land near the mouth of the Onion River (now the Winooski) was going to be very valuable some day. There were broad, fertile intervals, a good harbor on the Lake, and sizable waterfalls to supply power for mills. Ira told his older brother that he wanted to buy land in this country, but Ethan did not at first encourage the plan. He was too busy with his military and publicity work to give it much thought.

Early in the fall, as there were no Yorkers giving trouble at the moment and Ira's boils were better, the two brothers decided to take a trip up Poultney River. Ira wanted to pitch lots and Ethan to kill deer. On the way Ethan tried to get his younger brother to join him and have some fun, but Ira would only reply that a compass was as amusing to him as hunting deer. Besides, the weather was dry and the leaves noisy. But finally Ira, in order to get Ethan to show him some sites which he couldn't find himself, agreed to take a three-day hunting trip. They carried their blankets and rations of raw salt pork and bread with them. Ethan was the larger and stronger, but Ira was able to eat more raw pork than his older brother and managed to keep up with him. In the intervals of still hunting, Ira evidently had a good deal to say about the pos-

sibilities of the Onion River country and continued to try to get his older brother to back him financially in a development venture. Ethan finally became interested and told Ira to come and see him in Salisbury to talk things over.

After the first snow, Ethan went home for the winter. He spent the short December days talking politics and selling land to his friends and neighbors. Cousin Ebenezer Allen bought a farm in Poultney and Thomas Shepherd a lot in Hubbardton. He could not pay cash, but gave Ethan notes payable in neat cattle. Soon after this Ira came to town. He did not own a horse, and had walked down from the Grants. He was still dreaming about the Onion River country and was trying to get his brothers and Cousin Remember Baker to buy this land in partnership with him. They all met in Salisbury this winter and decided to form a company to buy and develop it. The partners were Ethan, Remember, Heman, Zimri, and Ira — four brothers and a first cousin.

The plan was to purchase the land adjoining Onion River, build a store on the premises and a road leading to them, and by advertising encourage settlers to settle. Ira and Remember Baker were to be stationed at Onion River, Heman at Salisbury, and Ethan at Bennington 'to manage political affairs.' It is now quite common for a corporation to retain a lobbyist and public relations counsel, but, when the Onion River Company was founded, the position had not yet been invented. However, the partners were shrewd enough to appreciate the value of Ethan's success as a demagogue and pamphleteer: Ira could guess the future value of a tract of land or the present value of a customer's pocket, but he had to leave Ethan

to make the sale. He proceeded to lead the Green Mountain Boys about, dispossessing Yorkers from the Onion River Company's lands, and to write scathing articles and pamphlets on the conduct of the government of New York — charging the costs of printing and distributing to the Company.

The land at the mouth of Onion River was owned by Edward Burling of White Plains. Soon after the meeting at which the Company was organized, Ethan, Ira, and Remember Baker started for White Plains, to try to buy this land from Burling. As the two latter were proscribed, they traveled disguised as British officers (on their way from Canada to New York to embark for London), making, as Ira put it, 'no small parade.' But they also armed themselves with pistols and swords. Heman, who was accustomed to going to New York to buy goods for his store, went at the same time, but not in company with the others, as he was well known in that part of the country. The disguised officers put up at a tavern in White Plains while Heman got in touch with Burling and arranged a meeting. He, as well as several others, sold the greater part of their holdings to the new company without hesitation, and the cousins were ready to return at the end of three days. Heman came to the tavern and had to buy a bowl of punch in order to induce the landlord to let him join the supposed British officers. In the morning when they had settled their bill and called for their horses, they astonished their host by informing a peddler, on his way to New York, who they really were. The peddler, seeing visions of a reward, departed at full speed, but long before he had informed the authorities, the outlaws — Ethan and Remember — were riding through the safe Connecticut hills.

They proceeded north until they were opposite Quaker Hill and then entered New York again in order to call on Benjamin Ferris, a Quaker preacher who seems to have been an old friend of the family's. When he noticed that his visitors were carrying pistols, he remarked, 'What doth thee do with these things?' One of them answered, 'Nothing amongst our friends,' but explained that they were Green Mountain Boys and intended to protect their persons and property and that of their friends from the Yorkers. Afterwards the old gentleman showed them a room, observing: 'This is thy room while thee stay in my house. Thee may do as thee please in thy room.' He entertained his visitors sumptuously and engaged Ira to locate certain rights which he owned in the vicinity of Onion River. He also agreed to sell one of them to Ethan and induced his friend Elijah Doty to do the same.

Returning to Salisbury, Ethan started at once to make sales for the new company. Before it was time to go north, he had sold large tracts on the Onion River to Thomas Chittenden, Jonathan Spafford, and Abijah Pratt, three of the leading citizens of the town. These customers bonded themselves to start clearing their land within a year and to employ three men at this work constantly (except in the winter) until the clearing was completed.

At the same time Ethan advertised in the 'Connecticut Courant,' calling his concern 'Ethan Allen and Company,' stating that the Onion River tract contained about forty-five thousand acres; that the river abounded

with a diversity of sorts of excellent fish particularly the salmon;

that there were broad intervalles with

little or no timber growing thereon, except a few scattering buttenwood, elm, and butternut trees. The land rises from the intervale, in graceful oval hills, and spreads into swails of choice mowing ground.

In fact,

there is no tract of land of so great quantity between New York and the government of Canada, that in a state of nature can justly be denominated equally good. . . . A number of men are already gone to cut a road to the premises from the river Otter Creek which is about twenty miles, and a settlement will forthwith be carried into execution. The land will be sold at a moderate price. Whoever inclines to be a purchaser, may for further particulars apply to Ethan, Zimry and Ira Allen or Remember Baker on the premises, or Heman and Levi Allen, of Salisbury. N.B. Said purchase and settlement is insured on a title derived from under the Great Seal of the Province of New Hampshire.

In June, Ethan went north to perform the various functions of salesman, lobbyist, and general. Ira went at the same time to superintend the building of the road to Onion River. A 'road' (it should be stated) consisted of a series of blazes on trees. It was passable to a man on horseback in the summer or a man on snowshoes in the winter. Almost immediately settlers began to travel north to the new settlement. As Ira set down in his 'Autobiography' :

Thus in a short time I led a people through a wilderness of seventy miles; about the same distance that took Moses forty years to conduct the children of Israel.

These various transactions had nearly exhausted the capital of the Allen family, a fact which had a far-reaching effect on the fate of the New Hampshire Grants. After this, even had they become convinced of the justice of New York's cause, they could not have

afforded to buy confirmatory grants to their land. The success of their speculation depended on freeing the district from the jurisdiction of New York. The cornerstone of the State of Vermont had been laid.

Ira's road led past New Haven Falls, whence, the summer before, Ethan had dispossessed John Reid's Scotch tenants in favor of the Hampshire claimant, Pangburn. By now, with Scotch persistency, Reid's men had crept back to their farms, and Pangburn had disappeared. When Ethan went north in the summer, he, in his capacity of Colonel Commandant of the Green Mountain Boys (as well as director of the Onion River Company), gathered a hundred intrepid young farmers and marched against this insult to his authority.

Reaching New Haven Falls, he ordered the Scotch settlers to turn out of their cabins, threatening to destroy all their belongings unless they did so promptly. His men then set fire to the cabins, pulled down the gristmill, broke the millstones, threw the pieces into the creek, and trampled the corn with their horses' hoofs. When Angus McBean announced he intended to build a house and keep possession, Ethan

damned his soul but he would have him tied to a tree and skin'd alive if ever he attempted such a thing. He said that if they could but catch Col. Reid they would cut off his head.

When James Henderson asked Ethan what was his authority for his actions, he replied:

that his name was Ethan Allen Captain of that Mob, and his authority was his arms pointing to his gun, that he and his companions were a Lawless Mob there Law being Mob Law . . . that he had run these woods in the same manner these seven years past and never was caught

yet . . . and that if any of Colo Reid's settler's offered hereafter to Build any house & keep Possession the Green Mountain Boys as they call themselves would burn their houses and whip them to the Bargain.

Ethan was determined not to let the Scotchmen upset his plans again. Out of the remnants of their houses and mills he built a block fort and garrisoned it with a platoon of Green Mountain Boys. Going on to Onion River, he built a fort there. Its dimensions were twenty by thirty-two feet. Every piece of timber was at least eight inches thick. In the second story there were thirty-two portholes for small arms. The roof was so constructed that it could be thrown off in case of fire. The second story jutted four inches beyond the first, so that the occupants could fire down or throw water to put out fire, and the fort was built over a boiling spring so that there would always be water. There were double doors and blocks for the windows. In effect, the fort was just as much of a sales stimulant as a Biltmore hotel and golf club on the premises would be to-day.

CHAPTER VIII

THE OUTLAWS

THERE was a town called Clarendon, right in the middle of the Grants. It had been settled by Yorkers and by Yorkers it was governed — Benjamin Spencer, the judge, Charles Button and Jacob Marsh, justices, Simeon Jenny, the coroner, and even Benjamin Hough, the Anabaptist minister, had all received their land and their commissions from New York, acknowledged her jurisdiction, and insisted on calling their town by its New York name — Durham. Ethan stood it as long as he could, and then in November, 1773, marched against the Durhamites. What happened on that occasion was afterwards recounted by Benjamin Spencer, Charles Button, and his wife Anna.

Saturday night, the 20th of November, at about eleven o'clock, Benjamin Spencer was awakened by the noise of people breaking into his house. The front door was shattered by a blow from an axe, and Ethan, with Remember Baker beside him, rushed into the room where Spencer, his wife, and 'some others of his family' were in bed. Ethan, who was armed with a gun, pistols, and a cutlass, ordered Spencer to rise at once, and told him

That he had been a damned old offender and the Township of Durham a Hornets Nest in their way and they were now determined to put an end to it by making them concede to take and hold their lands under New Hampshire and submit to the rules of their mob, or by destroying their property and making them quit the country.

Spencer got up and started to dress, but, as he seemed to be taking a long time about it, Ethan hit him over

the head with his gun. Other men were pointing their guns through the open windows, while Spencer staggered into his clothes and his wife held the screaming children in the corner of the bed. When dressed, he was taken to Thomas Green's house in Kelso (about two miles away) and confined in a room guarded by four men.

The next morning, the Reverend Benjamin Hough, hearing that Judge Spencer was a prisoner, went to see him in the improvised jail. Finding Ethan in charge, Hough asked him to explain. In reply, Ethan said:

The day of Judgment was come when every man should be judged according to his works . . . that the people of Durham frequently had warning enough, that if ever they had to come to Durham again they would lay all Durham in ashes and leave every person in it a corpse.

With that, the reverend gentleman departed in a rage.

Monday morning Spencer was brought forth to be tried. Given liberty to pick a court-room, he chose his own doorstep. There the 'Judgment Seat' was erected. Mounting it, Ethan announced that the proprietors of the New Hampshire Grants had appointed himself, Baker, Warner, and Cochran to inspect and set things in order and discourage intruders. He accused Spencer of applying to New York for a deed to his land, of accepting a New York justiceship, of issuing a trespass warrant against a New Hampshire man, and of influencing others to obey New York.

After conferring together, Ethan and Remember announced that Spencer's house was a nuisance and must be burned. Spencer pleaded that if this were done his wife and children would be ruined and all his earthly goods destroyed. The judges took compassion

and decreed that only the roof should be removed and put on again, provided Spencer would declare that it was put on under New Hampshire auspices and promise to buy a New Hampshire deed for his land. Spencer complied and the sentence was carried out amidst 'great shouting of joy and much noise and tumult.' Before departing, Ethan and Remember informed Spencer:

that if he disliked their proceedings he might seek Redress in any manner he saw fit, or apply to Government if he thought fit. They damned the Government, said they valued not the Government nor even the Kingdom, that force was force in whatever hands and that they had force and power sufficient to protect themselves against either.

It is clear that Ethan's boast was not an empty exaggeration. He was the chieftain of the Grants, his authority was uncontested. Unlike so many dictators and revolutionary leaders suddenly released from the restraints of laws and mass opinion, he managed to retain his sense of proportion. Though he was used to hardships and rough ways, outlawed and hunted, respected and feared, yet, on most occasions, he treated his victims with unexpected leniency. The only casualty of the war of the New Hampshire Grants was a pitiable dog named Tryon. Whether from charity or expediency, Ethan inflicted castigations of ridicule more often than lashes. On this occasion he even took pains to see that the Durhamites should not be charged exorbitant prices by the New Hampshire proprietors, from whom he had insisted that they rebuy their land, and, soon after leaving their town, he wrote an open letter to the inhabitants, promising his protection in case they should be misused by anybody.

It was getting late in the year and, soon after this, Ethan went to Salisbury. He continued his real estate operations there, buying, that winter, rights in Charlotte — the town just south of Onion River — from Benjamin Ferris, the Quaker, as well as Josiah Akin, Lott Tripp, Elijah Doty, and John Brownson, Mary's kinsman.

That winter the papers were filled with comments on the Boston Tea Party. In every colony there was friction between the authorities and the people. Rioting, sabotage, tarring, and feathering, were the order of the day. Many intelligent people must have expected trouble and bad times. However, business went on as usual, and the Onion River Company continued to increase its holdings until it owned at least a third of all the land between the Green Mountains and Lake Champlain.

On March 23, 1774, at Salisbury, the proprietors of Burlington held their first meeting. Thomas Chittenden was chosen Moderator, and Ira Allen, proprietors' clerk. For the services of the Onion River Company in building the road and the fort, Ethan, Remember, Heman, Zimri, and Ira were given three hundred acres on the river apiece.

It is doubtful if Ethan attended the proprietors' meeting, because at just this time there was held, in Arlington, a general meeting of the committees of the Townships of the New Hampshire Grants lying west of the Green Mountains. The purpose of this convention was to consider a law which the New York Assembly had passed when it learned what had happened to the Durhamites. According to the terms of this edict, a gathering of three or more persons upon the Grants was prohibited and punishable by death, and

officers of the law were absolved from any penalty for killing or injuring people in the execution of this law. At the same time the Governor offered a reward of one hundred pounds for the apprehension of Ethan or Remember Baker, and fifty pounds each for Seth Warner, Robert Cochran, Peleg Sunderland, Sylvanus Brown, James Breakenridge, and John Smith.

Assembling a convention of many more than three people as soon as they heard of this edict shows what the settlers thought of it. Ethan called it the 'Bloody Law,' and by that name it became known throughout the Grants. The delegates at once passed a resolution to resist it and sent a copy of the resolution (with their reasons) to the 'Courant.' At the same time Ethan wrote a long letter addressed to Governor Tryon which the seven proscribed men signed. Ethan published it as a pamphlet as well as in the 'Courant.' He explained that the activities of the Green Mountain Boys were based on self-preservation (the highest law) and that the new edict was unconstitutional because it applied to only a certain part of a province. He added:

Draco, the Athenian law-giver, caused a number of laws, (in many respects analogous to those we have been speaking of,) to be written in blood. But our modern Dracos determine to have theirs verified in blood. They well know we shall, more than three, nay, more than three times three hundred, assemble together, if need be, to maintain our common cause, till his Majesty determines who shall be and remain the owners of the land in contest. 'Wilt not thou possess that which Chemoth, thy God, giveth thee to possess?' So will we possess that which the Lord our God (and King) giveth us to possess.

Ethan's writings were becoming well known. The settlers read the 'Courant' avidly, and looked for Ethan's articles, easily recognized by their briskness,

fluency, and humor. Duane had produced several elaborate pamphlets, stating, with legal clarity, just why the land in question belonged to New York. This summer, Ethan replied with a two-hundred-page book. Judiciously combining documents with a lively style, he tore Duane's legalistic arguments to shreds, and replaced Blackstone with Locke by appealing to the higher law of self-preservation, natural rights, 'Property and Liberty.'

Ethan probably lived and worked all this summer at Landlord Fay's tavern in Bennington. When his manuscript was ready, he took it down to Hartford for his friend Ebenezer Watson to print. While it was on the press he went over to Salisbury to visit Mary and the children, who were still living in Heman's house. Ira happened to be in town at the same time, and the two brothers from out of town often spent the greater part of the day visiting their various friends in the neighborhood. Returning from one of these trips, they found that a certain Robert McCormick, a business connection of Heman's, had come to his house and asked to be put up for the night. Noticing an unusual restraint in McCormick's conversation and drinking, Heman warned Ethan, when he returned, that something was up. Ethan walked up to McCormick and told him he believed he was concerned in a plan to get the Governor's reward. McCormick was so surprised at Ethan's apparent knowledge that he confessed that such a plot was in agitation and that he was the decoy duck and had been sent to find out in which room Ethan slept so that he could inform the gang, who were well armed with swords and pistols and had two sleighs prepared to carry Ethan off to Poughkeepsie jail. He and his brothers let McCormick go, arming

themselves, however, in expectation of an attack, but they were not disturbed that night or any other.

As soon as the pamphlets were off the press, Ethan began to distribute them, at four shillings sixpence a copy. He sent his brother Levi to Portsmouth with twelve copies and started north himself across the snow in a sleigh laden with the pamphlets and with printed copies of the letter to Tryon (at one shilling sixpence a copy). He carried a pocket memorandum book with him and posted it as he went. Reaching Lenox on the 18th of January, he sold a copy of the pamphlet to a Mr. Bull. He left four copies in Mr. Dibbles's care at Lenox and three with Mr. Smith at Lanesborough. A man named Clessen bought one in that town as well as Landlord Waterman. On the 20th, he left a dozen copies with Eben Leonard to sell, and on the 21st, five with Martin Powel. He went over to Albany and gave four of the pamphlets to a man named Dole, gratis, one to Captain Herrick, and one to David Ives. He gave them copies of the letter also. Reaching Bennington he distributed pamphlets and letters among his colleagues, Baker, Warner, Breakenridge, Simeon Hathaway, Landlord Fay, Thomas Henderson, Elijah Storey, and Samuel Robinson. He went on to Manchester, and, arriving the 23d of January, sold a copy of the pamphlet to Benedick Olvard and gave Elijah Dewey a dozen of them to sell. The next day he sent six pamphlets to Mr. Leonard by the hand of Mr. Holt. He delivered a set to John Burnham and gave five of the pamphlets to Captain John Strong, who was to take them to Esquire Canfield, of New Milford, or to Samuel Baldwin.

At this point Ethan's session as a traveling salesman

was interrupted by a messenger who brought him word that he was needed at Sunderland to preside at the trial of Benjamin Hough, the Anabaptist minister, who had been captured before his own house in Clarendon, after returning from a trip to New York to complain to the Governor of the proceedings of the Green Mountain Boys. Ethan hurried to Sunderland and, assisted by Warner, Cochran, Sunderland, Mead, Warren, and Sawyer, proceeded to try Hough. After charging him with complaining to the Governor and also accepting a commission of the peace under the Government of New York, Ethan asked Hough what he had to say for himself, to which he replied by asking whether he had done injustice to any man in the execution of his office as a magistrate. Ethan announced that this reply was entirely beside the point; that the question was whether or not the accused had accepted a commission from New York. After further cross-examination, Hough admitted that the charges against him were true. The judges then withdrew to another house.

When they returned, Hough, guarded by four men with drawn swords, was placed against a tree. Ethan then pronounced the sentence — two hundred lashes and banishment from the Grants. Hough was promptly stripped and the two hundred lashes were inflicted by four executioners. At the end, faint and bleeding, he was put under the care of Dr. Washburn, who conducted him into a house. In a few minutes Ethan came in and handed him a paper which read:

SUNDERLAND, *30th of January, 1775*

This may certify the inhabitants of the New-Hampshire Grants, that Benjamin Hough hath this day received a full punishment for his crimes committed heretofore

against his Country, and our inhabitants are ordered to give him, the said Hough, a free and unmolested passport toward the City of New-York, or to the westward of our Grants, he behaving as becometh. Given under our hands the day and date aforesaid.

ETHAN ALLEN
SETH WARNER

The next morning the chastened minister set out for New York on foot — two hundred fifty miles in the dead of winter. Before leaving he heard Ethan say

that he expected that they should be obliged to drive off all the damned Durhamites . . . that he expected shortly to have a fight with the damned Yorkers, for that they would hear how the mob had abused their magistrates; but that he believed them to be damned cowards, or that they would have come out against them long before.

Ethan returned to Manchester where he had left off bookselling. Delegates representing the towns west of the mountains were already gathering there to try to decide what to do about the present state of affairs. They came together on the 1st of February. Ethan, Heber, and Ira, as well as Ebenezer Allen, Seth Warner, and Timothy Brownson, were present. They considered the turn of events which the Bloody Law had brought about and tried to determine the best course in case (as seemed probable) hostilities should break out between the authorities and the people. They agreed to defend their homes and lives against the Yorkers and passed a covenant-compact (attributed to Ethan), a sort of constitution for the self-governing Grants. It was sent to Hartford to be printed and Ethan went back to selling his pamphlets.

He reached Bennington on the 10th of February and there delivered copies to Simeon Harmon, Zebulon

Tubbs, and Reuben Sacket. That same day he lent his friend Martin Powel twelve shillings eightpence. From Bennington he went to Pownal, from Pownal to Poultney, from Poultney to Great Barrington, from there to Canaan, and back to Castleton, selling and giving away his pamphlets, stirring up the people to resist the Yorkers, describing to them the similar situation of the citizens of Boston. He visited his brother Heber and Timothy Brownson, Landlord Galusha and James Claghorn, Ebenezer Allen and Justus Sherwood, Joseph Bradley and the widow Norton, conducting, as he rode or drove across the drifted snow, a magnificent whispering campaign.

In the course of his peregrination, Ethan passed through Pittsfield several times. There was a young lawyer, an acquaintance of his named John Brown, living there. On one of these occasions he told Ethan that he had been commissioned by the Boston Committee of Correspondence to take a letter to its agents in Canada. Ethan volunteered the services of two of his Green Mountain Boys, Peleg Sunderland, an old Indian hunter, and Winthrop Hoit, who had once been captured by the Caughnawagas, to 'pilot' Brown to Montreal. Before starting, he discussed with Ethan the object of his mission. As they both knew, hostilities might break out at any moment in Boston between the authorities and the people — led, of course, by the Committee of Correspondence. Brown's mission was to find out which side of the fence the Canadians were going to be on. The position of the people of the Grants, Ethan told him, was complicated by the New York controversy and by their petition, now before the King, asking to be reannexed to New Hampshire. But one thing was certain: Fort Ticonderoga

should be seized as soon as possible, for, if once re-enforced, it would have northern New York and New England at its mercy.

Brown set out at once and, when he reached Montreal, wrote to his principals:

I have established a channel of correspondence through the new Hampshire Grants which may be depended on.

Adding:

One thing I must mention, to be kept a profound secret, the Fort at Tyconderoga must be seized as soon as possible should hostilities be committed by the Kings Troops. The people on N. Hampshire Grants have engaged to do this Business, and in my opinion they are the **most** proper Persons for this Jobb.

CHAPTER IX

THE CRISIS

THIS Fort Ticonderoga dated from 1755. Like all forts its existence was due to a combination of geography and politics. For the first, look at your map and you will see that, without railroads, automobiles, or aeroplanes, the natural highway between Canada and the Colonies was the water route formed by Lake Champlain, Lake George, and the Hudson. The only alternative, in fact, was the sea. The French, foreseeing the consequences of Pitt's dictatorship, fortified the juncture of Lake George and Lake Champlain, naming the place Carillon. Using Vauban plans, they built a stone bastioned fort within a star-shaped outer wall, and embellished it with the accepted defenses of the time: glacis, counterscarps, covered ways, and demilunes. Carillon became famous when, in 1758, Montcalm, with a skeleton garrison, defeated Abercrombie's army of fifteen thousand men. After the Peace of Paris it fell into the hands of the British, who renamed it Ticonderoga and allowed it to fall into decay. A small garrison was maintained to provide a halting-place for the mail and a guard for supplies. When Governor Tryon suggested that it be used as a base for reducing the Green Mountain Boys, General Haldimand informed him that the barracks were in too bad repair to house a sufficient number of troops.

Ticonderoga must have come into Ethan's mind a great many times as he traveled through the woods. In the middle of March, he went to Sheffield to attend a directors' meeting of the Onion River Company. It

PLAN

OF THE FORT
at

TIENDEROGA,

at
the Head of
Lake Champlain.

1759

PART

LAKE

CHAMPLAIN

- I. of Guns
- K. Brick Ado
- L. Lime Kilns
- M. Old French Batt
- N. The French Lines
- O. Battery there in
- P. Abbots of Monks
- Q. of Trench before Lines
- R. Wharf & Harbour for
- S. House of War situated
- T. Round to prevent the Eng
- my deceiving them

Half an Inch



is not absurd to suppose that on the way the Fort and the Company may have been in his mind at the same time — the Fort which dominated the Lake and the Company which owned sixty thousand acres of land on its shores. Remembering what John Brown had told him about the danger of hostilities in Boston, he must have wondered what would happen in such a case: would the Fort control the Company — or would the Company control the Fort? It might depend on which jumped first.

At the meeting, politics were overshadowed by financial questions, but Ethan evidently had something to say to his brothers about Ticonderoga: Heman, going to Hartford immediately afterwards, suggested to members of the Committee of Correspondence there the possibility of its being seized by Ethan's Green Mountain Boys. This would give the people the key to New England and the north in case they broke with the Government.

At the meeting, besides these two, Zimri and Ira were present as well as Remember Baker. The Company had been operating for three years in an extremely casual manner without a written contract or stated capital. Each of the partners purchased when convenient and made sales when opportunity offered, keeping only the vaguest kind of books. Nevertheless, it was estimated that the Company had bought 77,622 acres and sold 16,793, leaving 60,829 (worth \$297,408.50), all in towns adjoining Lake Champlain. A schedule of purchases and sales to date was made up and Ethan put in a bill for services rendered. His brothers and cousin approved it and agreed to pay him in lands. Among other items was the cost of printing the pamphlets which were inflam-

ing the hearts of the settlers to fight for their homes and the Onion River Company's land. In financial forms, the Allens were ahead of their times.

From the directors' meeting Ethan went to Spencer-town, New York. He was there on the 19th of March delivering three pamphlets to Landlord Dean. By the 29th he had reached Rupert, and from there he went to Danby to give a copy to Thomas Rowley, the poet of the Green Mountain Boys. At one of these places news reached him that on the 13th of March, when the Court of Cumberland County, New York, met at Westminster, on the east side of the mountains, it found the court-house in possession of the New Hampshire partisans. The sheriff assembled a posse and, coming up at about sunset, demanded entrance. A voice answered from within that if the sheriff attempted to force the door they would send him and all his men to hell in fifteen minutes. The sheriff retired, but, returning late at night, forced the door and took the house by storm. In the skirmish one of the New Hampshire Grants men, named William French, was killed and another mortally wounded. In the morning, court was opened, but news of French's martyrdom had aroused the people. A large concourse assembled preventing the court from doing business and finally the sheriff was captured and imprisoned. A convention of representatives of the towns east of the mountains was called for April 11. Apparently Ethan hastened from Danby across the mountains to attend it, although, as he lived on the west side, he cannot have represented any of the towns which were holding the convention. However, he was not only permitted to attend, but was promptly put on a committee with Charles Phelps and John Hazeltine (his old Salisbury

partner) to prepare a remonstrance against the administration of the Government of New York.

The committee had scarcely begun its work when news was received that the King's troops had been driven from Concord and Lexington by farmers armed with hunting rifles and the spirit of dissatisfaction. Ethan's reaction to this news (as he described it himself) was this:

Ever since I arrived at the state of manhood and acquainted myself with the general history of mankind, I have felt a sincere passion for liberty. The history of nations, doomed to perpetual slavery, in consequence of yielding up to tyrants their natural-born liberties, I read with a sort of philosophical horror; so that the first systematical and bloody attempt, at Lexington, to enslave America, thoroughly electrified my mind, and fully determined me to take part with my country.

So he jumped on his horse and rode to Bennington as fast as he could. The principal men of the near-by towns and officers of the Green Mountain Boys were already gathering there, trying to explore 'futurity,' but it was found to be 'unfathomable.' There was one aspect of it, however, which must have been pretty clear to Ethan by now; that is, the relation between the Fort and the Company. Nobody remembers what he said (it probably had something to do with philosophical horror), but soon after he reached Bennington the elders of the people assembled there decided to let him lead the Green Mountain Boys against Ticonderoga.

Just as the Bennington assemblage reached this conclusion, Heman arrived post from Hartford. He told Ethan that he had gone there from the Onion River directors' meeting, and, mentioning to certain members of the Committee of Correspondence the im-

portance of gaining control of Lake Champlain in case hostilities broke out, had found that they were already considering this matter. After the outbreak, a certain Captain Benedict Arnold, marching with his company of New Haven militia for Cambridge, told these same Hartford gentlemen that in his opinion the only way to drive the King's troops from Boston was to capture the King's guns at Ticonderoga and bring them overland to the siege. The Hartford gentlemen remembered Heman, who was still in town. Getting in touch with him at once, they commissioned him to ride post to Bennington and ask Ethan to mobilize the Green Mountain Boys (who, they agreed, were the best men to perform the task, the success of which depended on speed and secrecy) and to announce that they would send money as soon as possible.

Accordingly, a few days after Heman's arrival, Noah Phelps and Bernard Romans, followed by Edward Mott, reached Bennington from Hartford, bringing with them three hundred pounds which the gentlemen of the Committee of Correspondence had borrowed from the Treasury of the Province. On the way they had enlisted Levi Allen in Salisbury, John Brown (the lawyer) and Colonel Easton in Pittsfield and about fifty men. Meanwhile, Ethan had sent out the call and the Green Mountain Boys were gathering. Guards were immediately placed on the roads leading to Fort Edward, Lake George, Skenesboro, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point, and two of the Connecticut men (with some of the Connecticut money) were sent to Albany New City to purchase provisions. The officers and financial backers assembled at Richard Bentley's house in Castleton to hold a council of war on Monday morning the 8th of May. Their first step

was to elect Edward Mott chairman. He was a dependable man who seems to have been respected by everybody.

After due deliberation, the council decided to send Samuel Herrick with thirty men the following afternoon to take into custody Colonel Skene's family, servants, tenants, and boats. One of these was to be sent down the Lake during the night to meet the main body of men at Hand's Cove in Shoreham and carry them across the Lake to Willow Point. At the same time Asa Douglas was sent to Crown Point to find his brother, who lived there and who might be able to hire the boats belonging to the garrison and bring them to Hand's Cove.

The council gave the command of the attacking party to Ethan. His choice was uncontested because Mott, when he enlisted the men, had promised them that they should be commanded by their own officers.

In the final make-up of the expedition, then, Mott (who had brought the money) was chairman of the Board of War and Ethan (who had enlisted most of the men) was field officer. The men had chosen him to lead them and would have followed no one else. In the evening, after the council was over, he went ahead to Mr. Wessel's house in Shoreham, and from there to the appointed rendezvous, where the men were already gathering, and spent the night preparing them for the attack which was to take place at dawn.

CHAPTER X

THE ATTACK

THE rendezvous was Hand's Cove. A mile north of the promontory of Ticonderoga, on the eastern shore of Lake Champlain, it forms in early spring a natural harbor entirely hidden from the Fort across the Lake. Gershom Beach, a Rutland blacksmith, had been sent to rouse the Green Mountain Boys in the north (he is said to have covered sixty miles in twenty-four hours), and all night they poured in to the appointed place. The moon was in the last quarter, but, after it rose, full enough to show trees as shadows darker than the ground. Having picked up the Shoreham men at Mr. Wessel's, Ethan was probably among the first on the spot. He immediately posted sentinels on the point south of the cove to watch for the boats from Skenesboro and for any unusual lights in the Fort. He then returned to the head of the cove to advise the men as they came in, and to go over the plan of attack with the other officers. Noah Phelps, the commissary, had entered the Fort the day before, pretending he was a woodsman looking for a barber, and while being shaved had learned a good deal about conditions in the garrison. He reported that it consisted of less than fifty men and that the walls and defenses of the Fort were in disrepair. However, if the Commandant had got wind of what was going on across the Lake and expected an attack, it would be easy for him to trap his enemies.

Toward morning an officer wearing the scarlet coat of the Connecticut Governor's footguards, mounted



BENEDICT ARNOLD

From a mezzotint in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum Collection

and accompanied by a servant, reached Hand's Cove, found Ethan with the other officers, introduced himself as Captain Benedict Arnold, and produced a commission from the Cambridge Committee of Safety to enlist four hundred men and reduce Ticonderoga. He was a handsome, proud-looking man who seemed perfectly confident that the Green Mountain officers would hand over their men to him — although he had already demanded the command from the Board of War, at Castleton, and had been refused. As Mott had informed him, the men, when they enlisted, were promised that they should be commanded by their own officers. Nevertheless, early in the morning, Arnold hurried forward to Hand's Cove and there again insisted that he should have the command. The men threatened to go home unless they could have their own officers. Ethan and Easton soothed them by promising that Arnold wasn't going to have the command, and pointing out that even if he did the pay would be the same. But the men said they would damn the pay, they were not going to be commanded by anybody but their own officers.

A compromise was found which satisfied both Arnold and the men. There is no documentary evidence of its terms, but unquestionably Arnold was allowed to march at the head of the column, beside Ethan. It has been suggested that Ethan wanted the legal support of Arnold's commission, but that does not sound like Ethan; besides, a commission from some gentlemen of Cambridge to capture the King's fortress would hardly have stood in court. Arnold added nothing to the force of the expedition and endangered its success by bringing forward his personal interest at a time when delay might mean defeat. Meanwhile, dawn

was approaching and the boats had not yet arrived from Skenesboro, when, unexpectedly, a large scow appeared on the Lake coming from the opposite direction. As it beached, two boys jumped ashore dragging after them a bewildered Negro. They announced that this was Colonel Skene's scow (which had left Skenesboro before Herrick arrived). Hearing of the expedition from Asa Douglas and knowing that the scow was lying off Bridport, they had paddled out to it and had hired Jack, the Negro captain, to row them to Hand's Cove for an imaginary wolf hunt. The names of these two boys were James Wilcox and Joseph Tyler. Douglas himself followed a few minutes later in a boat with several recruits from Bridport.

There were now more than two hundred men gathered on the shores of the cove. Seventy were Connecticut and Massachusetts volunteers, the rest Green Mountain Boys. The two boats together held eighty-five men. The moon had set and squalls were blowing up from the north. It was too near dawn to think of a second trip. Leaving Warner in command of the rear guard, Ethan filled the two boats to capacity and started across the Lake in a southwesterly direction. It would be interesting to know what passed through his mind as he stood in the bow of the first boat watching for lights or moving shadows on the distant shore. It must have occurred to him that six hours from now the Continental Congress would meet at Philadelphia. Perhaps, as he listened to the patter of water dripping from the oars and the moaning of the wind, he wondered whether he was going to be acclaimed by Congress or hanged by the King. Perhaps he thought of what he would say when he demanded the surrender of the Fort.

Landing just north of Willow Point, he ranged his men three deep on the beach and (as he remembered the occasion four years later) harangued them as follows:

Friends and fellow soldiers, you have for a number of years past been a scourge and terror to arbitrary power. Your valor has been famed abroad, and acknowledged, as appears by the advice and orders to me, from the General Assembly of Connecticut, to surprise and take the garrison now before us. I now propose to advance before you, and, in person, conduct you through the wicket-gate; for we must this morning either quit our pretensions to valor, or possess ourselves of this fortress in a few minutes; and, inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt, which none but the bravest of men dare undertake, I do not urge it on any contrary to his will. You that will undertake voluntarily, poise your fire-locks.

Every man raised his gun. Ethan gave the command to march and they started for the Fort. It was about three o'clock, still dark, but the sky was paling in the east. Ethan and Arnold headed the column, both in uniform and wearing swords: but, whereas Arnold's was the uniform of a captain in the Connecticut Governor's footguards, Ethan's was an invention of his own designed for the unique position of Colonel Commandant of the Green Mountain Boys. It was modeled on a British Infantry officer's uniform; probably was a green coat with yellow or buff breeches and certainly had large gold epaulettes. The men were farmers dressed in their working clothes, hunting clothes, or even Sunday clothes. They wore breeches of buckskin, linsey-woolsey, fustian, and plush. They wore woolen stockings, buckled shoes or moccasins, calico and silk waistcoats, beaver and felt hats, and

bearskin caps. They carried rifles, blunderbusses, pistols, hangers, hunting-knives, and clubs.

Near the landing there was a road leading past the charcoal oven, the Pontleroi redoubt, and the well, skirting the east wall of the Fort to the ruined entrance in the south wall. Just opposite this break in the center of the south curtain of the main Fort there was a gate with a wicket, where a sentry was posted. He was probably dozing on a bench with an hourglass beside him. Ethan and Arnold were at the head of the column which swarmed through and over the break in the south wall. The sentry, awakened from his dream, saw in the pale gray light an enormous apparition rushing at him with a sword waving above its head. He had presence of mind enough to cock his musket and pull the trigger, but the flint flashed in the pan and the gun misfired. Taking to his heels, he ran through the long archway under the south barracks into the *place d'armes* and across it to a bombproof on the other side, shouting all the while to rouse the garrison. Ethan rushed after him, and the men, with Indian war-whoops, crowded through the wicket gate and climbed the walls of the bastions. Ethan ordered them to form a hollow square in the *place d'armes*, but after they had given three cheers their enthusiasm overcame their discipline and, shouting 'No Quarter!' they rushed at the doors and stairways of the barracks.

The first soldier to emerge from the guard-room in the south barracks made a pass at one of the invaders with a charged bayonet, but Ethan, coming up just then, hit him over the head with the flat of his sword. The man's life was probably saved by a comb he was wearing in his hair. He begged for quarter, which Ethan granted on condition that he point out the



ETHAN ALLEN AND CAPTAIN DELAPLACE
AT THE CAPTURE OF FORT TICONDEROGA

From a painting in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum Collection

Commandant's room. The soldier led the way to a stairway leading up the façade of the west barracks. With Arnold beside him and a crowd of his men at his back, Ethan started up.

A door opened at the head of the stairs and there appeared on the landing a man wearing an infantry lieutenant's coat and waistcoat, but holding his breeches in his hand. Ethan shouted some such phrase as 'Come out of there, you damned old rat!' — and, with Arnold at his side, began to climb the stairs, meanwhile demanding the surrender of the Fort at the top of his lungs. The man above motioned them to stop, and then asked by what authority they entered His Majesty's Fort. Ethan shouted: 'In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!' Reaching the top with his sword waving in the air, he told the breechesless officer 'that he must have immediate possession of the Fort and all the effects of George the Third'; adding that if this 'was not complied with, or that there was a single gun fired in the fort neither man, woman or child should be left alive in the Fort.'

Finding that the officer whom he had been addressing (Lieutenant Feltham) was not the Commandant, Ethan started to break in the door, but Arnold restrained him. The door opened without his aid, however, and Captain Delaplace, the Commandant, fully dressed, stepped out. Realizing there was nothing else to do, he handed his sword to Ethan and ordered his men to be paraded without arms. Arnold told the British officers he had received instructions from the Cambridge Committee of Correspondence to take the Fort, and Ethan told them his orders were from the Province of Connecticut. Feltham was immediately

locked up in the Commandant's room, with sentries before both doors, while Ethan and Arnold took Delaplace downstairs to order his men to lay down their arms. Meanwhile, the invaders had broken in the doors of the barracks and captured the regulars in their bunks. At Ethan's command they dragged the bewildered prisoners out and lined them up in the *place d'armes*, while their arms were all piled in a room guarded by a sentry. A guard was allotted to each prisoner and they were allowed to break ranks and return to their quarters. By now daylight was breaking, the rear guard was swarming into the Fort, and the men had discovered the captain's liquor. As Ethan afterwards remembered the occasion:

The sun seemed to rise that morning with a superior lustre; and Ticonderoga and its dependencies smiled on its conquerors, who tossed about the flowing bowl, and wished success to Congress, and the liberty and freedom of America.

CHAPTER XI

VICTORY

THE spirits of the conquerors rose with the sun. Victory soothed their souls while liquor warmed their bellies. Ethan, Easton, and Brown drank toasts and congratulated each other. Arnold tried to maintain order and sulked when he found himself unable to do so. Matthew Lyon, an enthusiastic Irishman, discovered the 'Old Sow,' an enormous thirteen-inch mortar, and fired it off, shouting that it was the first cannon shot fired under the auspices of the American Eagle; Warner arrived with the rear guard, demanded the privilege of leading the expedition against Crown Point, and, taking Peleg Sunderland, Levi Allen, and a hundred men, went off to the landing to commandeer the batteaux which lay there. The Green Mountain Boys and their Massachusetts brethren in the Fort drank, cheered, shouted, and pillaged, helping themselves to all the liquor, food, clothes, and furniture they could lay their hands on, while throughout the uproar the bewildered British officers tried to figure out what had happened to them.

Ethan appropriated ninety gallons of rum from Captain Delaplace's private cellar, 'for the refreshment of the fatigued soldiery,' but gave his prisoner a receipt which later enabled him to collect from Connecticut Province for his lost liquor. When the first excitement was over, anxious to tell the world about his victory, he selected John Brown, the indefatigable young lawyer from Pittsfield, to ride post to Philadelphia with the captured colors and present them to Congress. At the

same time he gave Brown a written report of the capture to deliver to the Albany Committee of Correspondence on his way. This committee, the only revolutionary organization which could be reached in two days' riding, included most of the leading men of Albany. Ethan's past relations with them had not been exactly friendly, but he considered that the news which he was sending would erase bygones. The letter exhibits the excitement in which he had been living the last few days: he called the date the 11th, although it was in fact only the 10th. He announced:

I have the inexpressible satisfaction to acquaint you, that at day break of the eleventh instant (pursuant to my directions from sundry leading Gentlemen in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut) I took the fortress of Ticonderoga with about one hundred thirty Green Mountain Boys. Col. Easton with about forty-seven valient soldiers distinguished themselves in the action. Col. Arnold enter'd the fortress with me side by side. The Guard was so surpriz'd that contrary to our expectation, did not fire on us but fled with precipitancy. We immediately enter'd the fortress and took the Garrison and Prisoners without bloodshed or any opposition. They consisted of one Capt. & Lieutenant & forty two men. Little more need be said — You know Governor Carlton of Canada will exert himself to retake it, & as your County is nearer than any other part of the Colonies & as your inhabitants have thoroughly manifested their Zeal in the cause of their Country I expect immediate assistance from you both in men and provisions. You cannot exert yourselves too much in so glorious a cause. The number of men need be more at the first, till the other colonies can have time to muster. I am apprehensive of a sudden & quick attack; pray be quick to our relief & send us five hundred men immediately, fail not.

A bright May morning had replaced the feverish dawn. News spread through the wilderness that there

were doings at the Fort. Settlers and Indians came to find out what was going on. Preparations were made to remove the British soldiers and their families to the landing at Lake George. Mott and Phelps arrived from Shoreham with the Connecticut money in their haversacks. John Brown galloped away with his flag and his letter. Captain Delaplace's liquor was distributed as rapidly as possible. The Green Mountain Boys were having the time of their lives. In short, everything proceeded happily until Arnold tried to stop the plundering. Thereupon the men 'paraded' and threatened to go home. Ethan, Easton, and Mott pacified them and tried to reason with Arnold, pointing out (once again) that he had raised no men and had no right to command theirs. But he again argued that Ethan had no orders to show. Hearing that, Mott, as 'Chairman of the Committee of War,' wrote out a commission for Ethan, stating:

Whereas, agreeable to the Power and Authority to us given by the Colony of Connecticut, we have appointed you to take the command of a party of men and reduce and take possession of the garrison of Ticonderoga and its dependencies, and as you are now in possession of the same, — You are hereby directed to keep the command of said garrison, for the use of the American Colonies, till you have further orders from the Colony of Connecticut or from the Continental Congress.

After arming Ethan with a written commission, the Committee of War (Mott, Phelps, Easton, and Bull) wrote out a certificate stating the reasons for their action in regard to Arnold and appointed Easton to take it to the Massachusetts Provincial Congress at Watertown. Evidently Arnold also gave him a letter addressed to the Committee of Safety (which was not

delivered) and Ethan one to the 'Provential Congress.' In this letter he corrected the date mistake, but, on account of the row, did not mention Arnold at all. The letter reads:

I have to Inform You with Pleasure Unfelt Before that on breake of Day of the 10th of may 1775 by the Order of the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut Took the Fortress of Ticonderoga by Storm the soldiary was Composed of about one Hundred Green Mountain Boys and Near fifty Veteran Soldiars from the Province of the Massachusets Bay the Latter was under the Command of Col. James Easton who behaved with Great Zeal and fortitude. Not only in Council but in the Assault the Soldiary behaved with Such resisless fury that they so terrified the Kings Troops that they Durst Not fire on their Assailants and our Soldiary was Agreeably Disappointed the Soldiary behaved with uncommon ranker when they Leaped Into the fourt and it Must be Confessed that the Col. has Greatly Contributed to the Takeing of that fortress as well as John Brown Esqr Attorney at Law who was also an able Counciller and was Personally in the Attack I Expect the Colonies will Maintain this Fortress as to the Canon and war Like Stores I hope they may serve the Cause of Liberty in Stead of Tyranny and I Humbly Implore Your Assistance in Immediately Assisting the Government of Connecticut in Establishing a Garrison in the reduced Premises. Col. Easton will Inform you as Large.

The committee meanwhile, having dealt with Arnold, had turned its attention to other matters. Easton started for Watertown immediately, leaving Mott, Phelps, and Bull. Mott was selected to carry the news to Hartford, Phelps to remain at Ticonderoga as commissary (in charge of the money), and Bull to command the escort conducting the prisoners to Hartford by way of Lake George and Albany. The British officers, the commissary of provisions, a baker,

and a private who enlisted in the American garrison, were allowed to remain for the time being. Thirty-eight rank and file as well as twenty-four women and children were gathered together at about noon and marched off through the woods to the landing at Lake George.

Arnold was shunned, derided, and even shot at by the Americans. He probably spent the time hobnobbing with the British officers, while Ethan ruled the garrison after his own ideas of military conduct. Arnold complained that Ethan was 'a proper man to head his own wild people but entirely unacquainted with military service.'

Meanwhile, a messenger had arrived from Herrick with word that he was in possession of Colonel Skene's estate and that he had captured, besides numerous tenants, apprentices, servants, and slaves, the Colonel's son, Major Skene, his two daughters, and his overseer, Mr. Brooks. Ethan decided to send the Major and Mr. Brooks to Hartford with the British officers from Ticonderoga. But what to do with the two Skene girls became a problem, for they could hardly be regarded as dangerous to the cause. It was finally decided to send them to Quebec. John Bigelow, their escort, was allowed one hundred and fifty pounds for traveling expenses, an amount which indicates that the Americans wanted to do the thing rather handsomely.

Captain Delaplace and his party left Ticonderoga for Skenesboro on the morning of the 12th. Arnold had promised him that he would have his sword and his guns returned, a promise which was never fulfilled. When the British officers departed, Ethan gave their escort a letter for Governor Trumbull informing him:

I make you a present of a Major, a Captain and two Lieutenants in the regular Establishment of George the Third. I hope they may serve as ransoms for some of our friends at Boston, and particularly for Capt. Brown of Rhode Island. A party of men under the command of Capt. Herrick has took possession of Skenesborough, imprisoned Major Skene, and seized a Schooner of his. I expect in ten days' time to have it rigged, manned, and armed with 6 or 8 pieces of cannon, which, with the boats in our possession, I purpose to make an attack on the armed Sloop of George the Third which is now cruising on Lake Champlain, and is about twice as big as the Schooner. I hope in a short time to be authorized to acquaint your honour that Lake Champlain and the fortifications thereon are subjected to the Colonies.

The enterprise has been approbated by the officers and soldiery of the Green Mountain Boys, nor do I hesitate as to the success. I expect lives must be lost in the attack as the commander of George's sloop is a man of courage &c. I conclude Capt. Warner is by this time in possession of Crown Point, the ordinance, stores &c. I conclude Governor Carlton will exert himself to oppose us, and command the Lake &c.

Messrs. Hickock, Halsey and Nichols have the charge of conducting the officers to Hartford. These gentlemen have been very assiduous and active in the late expedition.

I depend upon your Honour's aid and assistance in a situation so contiguous to Canada.

As an afterthought, Ethan gave the escort a second letter for the Governor, written on a scrap of paper with a note scribbled on the bottom apologizing for the shortage of stationery. The letter reads:

The Hazard of Takeing Ticondaroga was Supposed to be Such that the Comitee of war for the Expadition Employed Mr. Jonas Fay of Bennington to Proceede with the Scout to said Premises in Character of Doctor & Chirurgeon which character Mr. Fay Has Merited by Ten Years of Successfull Practice and as there appears

Ticonderoga 12th May 1775

Hon^{ble} Sir I make You a Present of a Major
a Captain and Two Lieut^s in the regular
Establishment of George the Third I hope
they may serve as examples for some of our
Friends at Boston and particularly for Capt
Brown of Rhodiseland a Party of men under
the Command of Capt Herick has Took Posses-
sion of Scarborough Imprisoned Major Scam^{er}
and seized a Schooner of his, I expect in
Ten days Time to have it rigged ~~and~~ manned
and armed with 6 or 8 Pieces of Canon which
with the Boats in our Possession I Purpose
to make ~~an~~ an Attack on the armed Hoop of
George the Third which is Now Cruising
on Lake Champlain and is about Twice
as bigg as the Schooner, I Hope in a short
Time to be authorized to acquaint Your Hon^{or}
our that Lake Champlain the fortifications
thereon are subjected to the Colonies
The Enterprise has been approved by the

Officers and Souldiers of the Green Mountain
Boys Nor do I hesitate as to the Success
I Expect Lives must be Lost in the
Attack as the Commander of George's Sloop
is a man of Courage &c.

I Conclude Capt Worner
is by this Time in Possession of Crown Point
the Ordnance Stores &c I Conclude Governor
Carlton will Exert himself to oppose us &
Command the Lake &c - Messrs Hickok
Halsey & Nichols have the Charge of Conduct-
ing the ~~Officers~~ ^{Officers} to Hartford These Gentles-
men have been Very Active and active in
the Late Expedition I Depend upon your
Honours Aid and Assistance in a Situation
so contiguous to ~~Canada~~ Canada -
I Subscribe my self your Honours Ever
Faithfull most Obedient and Humble servant

Ethan Allen

Present Commander of Ticonderoga

Still a Greater Prospect of Need of a Person Skilled in these sciences and as Doctor Fay Has with him on the Premises Considerable of a Quantaty of Medecines &c. and is willing and well Skilled to Continue the Campaign in the said Capacity I would therefore Recommend him to be Continued by Your Honours Appointment and ratification thereof thro the Campain in the Capacity aforesaid this recommendation and request is founded on the Hypothesis that Government will send a Military force to Maintain the sovereignty of Lake Champlain in favour of the Colonies.

Later in the day word came from Warner that the garrison of Crown Point (one sergeant, eight privates, ten women and children) had surrendered. Ethan immediately forwarded the news to the Albany Committee, informing its members:

This Moment an Express has Arrived from Crownpoint with Letters From Capt. Seth Warner Giving an Account of The Surrender of That Place to him and his Command without the Loss of Blood, together with a Large Quantity of Cannon, The Particulars of which Cannot at Present be Ascertained. Provision and Ammunition Very Short, — of the Former Only Sufficient for Four Days — Cannon not Mounted, Carriages out of Repair and Many Irreparable, No Workmen to Repair or build Anew, Our Troops Few in No. & do not Exceed the No. of 150 or Thereabouts, Great Part of which (on acct. of Their Peculiar Circumstances) Would Willingly be Reliev'd as Soon as Maybe — The News of the Reduction of These Fortresses have Gone to Quebec and Doubtless will be Forwarded with Great Expedition — We are in a Defenseless Estate at Present and Much Fatigu'd with Our Late Forced March Thro the Wilderness and Laying the best Plans in our Power for the Safety of the Prizes we have Made Ourselves Masters of —

As we are In Want of Almost Every Necessary (Courage Excepted) We Earnestly Request your Immediate Relief, By Troops, Provision, Arms and Ammunition &c.

as your Wisdom May direct — We Send This Evening an Express thro the N. Hampshire Grants which is to go as Far as Connecticut on The Same Request — have wrote you before Relative to this Subject In **part**.

CHAPTER XII

THE LAKE

WITH the question of prisoners and the question of command (for the time being) out of the way, Ethan and his friends turned their attention to the Lake. As they all knew, Champlain is about ninety miles long and as much as thirteen miles wide in certain places. Colonel Skene's estate, at the south end, was already in their hands; St. John's at the north was held by a garrison of regulars, reënforced by a sloop-of-war which was larger and carried more guns and heavier metal than anything else on the Lake. At Skenesboro, however, Herrick had captured (along with the mills, mines, Negroes, and the two Misses Skene) a schooner which the Colonel had built the year before for carrying his iron to St. John's and bringing back stores and provisions. A New Haven distiller named Oswald sailed the schooner down to Ticonderoga, twenty miles north of Skenesboro, arriving on Sunday the 13th. The officers immediately held a council of war which commissioned Arnold to take the schooner and, if possible, surprise the sloop before its commander received word of what had happened to the garrisons at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Ethan was to follow with as many men as possible in the batteaux which lay at Ticonderoga. Nobody set down the reason for giving the command of the schooner to Arnold, but it was, very likely, partly to appease him for having no command in the original expedition and partly to get him away from headquarters as soon as possible. He may have said he knew something about boats (the Green

Mountain Boys cannot have known anything about boats). At any rate, he must have jumped at the chance to get away, for the British officers, his only friends, had departed the day before, while his scarlet coat continued to be a splendid target for restless marksmen. That very day he provisioned the schooner, rechristened her the 'Liberty,' and set sail with the comparatively safe prospect of an encounter with a British man-of-war, but head winds in the narrows prevented him from sailing far before nightfall.

Ethan followed a day or so later with a flotilla of four batteaux carrying about ninety men. At Crown Point he was joined by Warner with a few more. They rowed and sailed north for two days. By noon on Thursday the 17th, they had sighted the sloop and the schooner, sailing south together before the fair breeze. As they approached, the sloop saluted with a discharge of cannon which Ethan returned with a volley of small arms, a process which was repeated three times before the boats had reached each other.

The sloop hove to and Ethan boarded her. Arnold stood triumphant on the poop. He announced that the garrison of St. John's (a sergcant and twelve men) was in irons below and that he had destroyed all the other boats which lay in the harbor so that for the time being His Majesty was quite unable to set sail upon the Lake. Arnold invited his guest below, where they drank 'several loyal Congress healths.' Having achieved glory on his own hook, Arnold was probably expansive, ready to concede Ticonderoga to Ethan, who must have been wondering, while he swallowed his toddy, how he could go Arnold one better. So, when there was a pause in the 'loyal Congress healths,' he announced that he was going to hold St. John's

against the regulars. Arnold did his best to dissuade him, told him he could never hold it against the reënforcements which would be sent from Montreal, and pointed out that even if he could it was of no consequence as long as the Americans controlled the Lake. However, Ethan insisted, and, before leaving, borrowed provisions, which, in his haste and enthusiasm, he had apparently forgotten to bring.

Reaching St. John's in the morning, Ethan found that the reënforcements had not yet arrived. He evidently went ashore to have a look around and in this way fell in with a man named Bindon, a Montreal merchant who had come to town on business. Ethan explained the rebels' cause to him and induced him to carry a letter to James Morrison, of the Montreal Committee of Correspondence, explaining that Lakes George and Champlain were already in the hands of the Colonies, that their advance guard was now at St. John's, and that with a little assistance from the 'virtuous disposed gentlemen' of Montreal, in the matter of provisions, ammunition, and spirituous liquors, Canada would soon succumb — without inconvenience to the natives or Indians. Furthermore Ethan announced that he was empowered to pay for these commodities up to the amount of five hundred pounds.

Bindon started for Montreal forthwith, but presently returned to say that he had met a detachment of two hundred regulars marching for St. John's.

Bindon set out for Montreal again by a different road, while Ethan prepared to ambush the enemy. He placed his men behind trees and sent out scouts to watch the advance of the regulars down the woods road. But while he waited, he had time to think

things over and take into account his men's condition. He remembered that they had had very little food or sleep for three days. When the scouts reported that the regulars were only two miles off, he changed his mind and ordered a retreat. His party reëmbarked in their boats and crossed the Sorel River to St. John's. The men were so tired by now that they pitched their blankets on the shore or slept in the boats. At dawn they were surprised by a volley of grapeshot from six field pieces which the regulars had ranged on the opposite shore. The volley served as an alarm clock: Ethan's men jumped to their places in the boats and pushed off without waiting for orders. While the oarsmen rowed away from shore, the gunners fired volleys back at the regulars and probably all joined in some splendid invectives against the redcoats. When they were out of range of shore, the oarsmen halted to regain their breath and it was found that in their haste they had left three men behind. Sails were set and the four little boats headed for Crown Point, while the hot spring sun beat down upon their tired, hungry, and gloomy crews.

Ethan probably reacted to the catastrophe by swallowing a draught of rum and swearing to get even with the redcoats. Inwardly he must have cursed Arnold's foresight. But he was neither dejected nor distrustful of his own capacity. The idea of admitting defeat never entered his head. When, a day or so later, he wrote about his encounter, what he remembered was that 'the musick was both terrible and delightful.' He could find grounds for enthusiasm even in a defeat!

Arnold happened to be at the landing when Ethan reached Crown Point, which may account for the fact

that he went on to Ticonderoga, arriving there on Monday the 21st. A council of war was immediately held, which, clearly at Ethan's instigation (a longing for revenge must have been stewing in his mind), decided to advance troops to the Isle aux Noix, ten miles south of St. John's, and fortify it as an advance outpost, from which, presumably, Ethan could snipe at redcoats from time to time. He at once notified Noah Lee, who was in command of the garrison at Skenesboro, of the decision, asking for as many men as could be spared for the advance corps. Leaving Warner to bring on the men from Ticonderoga, he went ahead to Crown Point, to gather men there and tell Arnold about the new plan.

At nearly the same time that Ethan reached his destination, a delegation of Caughnawaga Indians arrived there, headed by Captain Ninham, who had attended the Stockbridge school, and Winthrop Hoit, who had guided John Brown to Montreal. The Indians had heard of the capture of the Lake forts and had come to try to find out what was going on. Their loyalty to the memory of Sir William Johnson inclined them to favor the Crown, but they weren't going to be caught on the wrong side of the fence if they could help it.

Ethan explained the case of the settlers to the delegates and sent them off with a letter for their chiefs, which Hoit was to translate. In a style dumbed-up (to borrow a term from Hollywood) for the benefit of his audience, Ethan explained that naughty King George had oppressed the Americans until they wouldn't stand for it any longer, so that they were shooting at his soldiers in Boston and 'have took' Ticonderoga from him. As he informed them:

I always love Indians and have hunted a great deal with them I know how to shute and ambush just like Indian and want your Warriors to come and see me and help me fight Regulars — You know they stand all along close together Rank and file and my men fight so as Indians do and I want your warriors to join with me and my Warriors like brothers and ambush the Regulars, if you will I will give you money blankits Tomehawks Knives and Paint and the like as much as you say because they first killed our men when it was Peace time . . . we are obliged to fight but if you our Brother Indians do not fight on either side still we will be Friends and Brothers and you may come and hunt in our woods and pass through our Country in the Lake and come to our post and have Rum and be good friends . . . I hope your Warriors will come and see me it may be at Crown Point or Saint John's and possibly at Montreal if I have good heart and fight well. So I bid all our Brother Indians farewell.

It is clear that Ethan's little setback at St. John's had not affected his spirit (though it certainly did affect the attitude of the inhabitants). If it had been merely a matter of his heart, he would have met the Caughnawagas in Montreal. But there were other elements, such as the Caughnawagas themselves and the Continental Congress, which he could not control.

Both the letter to the Indians and the letter to the merchants of Montreal were intercepted and carried to Governor Carleton, who took immediate steps to counteract the influence of Ethan's propaganda. Throughout the campaign the Indians consistently fought with the regulars and afterwards apologized to the rebels, saying that they really believed in Liberty, but that the King's troops got them drunk. The attitude of the French Canadians was of course directed

by their priests whose loyalty had been cemented by the Quebec Act. Ethan's enthusiasm deceived him into believing that these people would prefer the benefits of Liberty to the benefits of Heaven.

Meanwhile a council of war had been called to consider the plan of fortifying Isle aux Noix. It met on the 27th aboard the sloop which had become the flagship of Arnold's fleet. The idea of advancing was approved, but the objective was shifted from the island to Point au Fer, on the west shore of the Lake. William Gilliland owned all of the land at Point au Fer and had built a large house as well as sawmills and gristmills there. He was an old friend of Ethan's, and a strong partisan of the American cause. He spent most of this summer with the officers at Crown Point. It was undoubtedly at his suggestion that they decided to occupy Point au Fer and protect his mills and barns from the regulars. In return he supplied them liberally with provisions and liquor.

The day after the council was held, its decision was obliterated by the arrival of a messenger from Philadelphia with an order from Congress to remove the cannon and stores from Ticonderoga to the south end of Lake George, so that they might be safely returned to His Majesty when the 'former Harmony' between Great Britain and the Colonies, 'so ardently wished for by the latter,' rendered it consistent with the 'overruling law of self-preservation.' The reaction of Congress to his initial exploit was a complete surprise to Ethan. It had not occurred to him that there was any question of giving anything back to the King's troops except blow for blow. As a matter of fact he was right. It was too late for reconciliation. The capture of Ticonderoga had forced the issue, but Congress did

not officially recognize this fact until fourteen months later — July 4, 1776.

When he heard the news, Ethan's indignation boiled over. He dispatched a long letter to the Continental Congress protesting against removing the guns from Ticonderoga and leaving the frontier settlements to the mercy of the regulars. Of course he was thinking of the Onion River Company as well as the other settlements along the Lake, but, from a military point of view, his plan was more consistent than the dilly-dallying of Congress. As he gave it, in his letter to Congress:

it is my humble opinion, that the more vigorous the Colonies push the war against the King's Troops in Canada the more friends we shall find in that Country . . . should the colonies forthwith send an army of two or three thousand men, and attack Montreal, we should have little to fear from the Canadians or Indians, and would easily make a conquest of that place, and set up the standard of liberty in the extensive Province of Quebec whose limit was enlarged purely to subvert the liberties of America. . . . Advancing an army into Canada will be agreeable to our friends; and it is bad policy to fear the resentment of an enemy, etc.

Ethan appreciated that his plan was impossible without a sufficient number of men. It occurred to him that if the Green Mountain Boys could be enrolled in the regular Continental Service they would do the job very nicely, and that he would naturally be chosen to command them. He evidently suggested the plan to his friend Gilliland, who wrote to Congress:

I must beg leave to observe to you that there are now in these parts a very considerable number of men under the command of Mr. Ethan Allen, as brave as Hercules, and as good marksmen as can be found in America, who

might prove immediately servicable to the common cause, were they regularly embodied, and commanded by officers of their own choice, subordinate to whoever has or may be appointed commander-in-chief, or to the instructions of the Grand Congress. These men being excellent wood rangers, and particularly acquainted in the wilderness of Lake Champlain, would in all likelihood, be more servicable in these parts than treble their number of others not having these advantages, especially if left under the direction of their present enterprising and heroick commander, Mr. Allen.

CHAPTER XIII

THE REGIMENT

IN view of the resolutions of Congress, the plan to advance to Point au Fer had been abandoned. But, on the other hand, Ethan was in no hurry to take measures for removing the guns to Lake George. Leaving Herrick in command of Ticonderoga, he used Crown Point as headquarters and prepared to defend it against the counter-attack from Canada which he expected. Arnold seems to have been sulking on board the sloop, which he called the 'Enterprise.' Romans (who had captured Fort George single-handed) was probably with him as well as a few other cronies. There is reason to believe that they passed the time, or part of it, writing an article intended to confute Easton's published account of the capture of Ticonderoga. They sent it, signed 'Veritas,' to Holt, the New Haven printer, to be published in his paper. According to 'Veritas,' Easton spent the time of the actual attack hiding in a barn, while Arnold, who had a joint command with Ethan, was the first to enter the fort, and the real leader of the expedition.

While Arnold concocted 'Veritas,' Ethan, on shore, was trying to figure out how he could get the Americans to advance into Canada instead of retiring to Lake George, or at least let him organize a regiment and hold the Lake. Though he had not received an answer from the Continental Congress, he wrote, on the 2d of June, to the New York Provincial Congress, soliciting its help to further his project of forming a regiment of Green Mountain Boys and conquering

Canada. Remembering that this Congress was the successor of the body which had outlawed him a year earlier, he wrote in his most seductive manner, and, after explaining what he wanted, let himself be carried away by the force of his own rhetoric, setting down such paragraphs as this:

I wish to God America would at this critical juncture exert herself agreeable to the indignity offered her by a tyrannical ministry. She might rise on eagles wings, and mount up to glory, freedom and immortal honour, if she did but know and exert her strength. Fame is now hovering over her head — A vast continent must now sink to slavery and poverty, bondage and horror, or rise to unconquerable freedom, immense wealth, inexpressible felicity, and immortal fame. I will lay my life on it, that with fifteen hundred men, and a proper artillery, I will take Montreal.

Easton had just returned from Cambridge and for some reason Ethan added a postscript to his letter devoted to praising Easton's valor and intrepidity in the assault of Ticonderoga. Evidently this was meant to confute anything Arnold might write (as he was writing at that very moment) against Easton. Rumors of the row as to who took Ticonderoga were becoming current gossip: people were talking of it as far away as New London.

Taking the letter with them, Ethan and Easton went the next day to Ticonderoga. There they found a Canadian named Jeffry who was some sort of a traveling merchant and was acquainted with Walker, the leading spirit of the Montreal Committee of Correspondence. Ethan and Easton, appreciating the opportunity for propaganda, induced Jeffry, when he was ready to return north, to take a letter addressed to 'the French people of Canada.' They pointed out

that the *habitants* were merely being duped by the King adding:

You are undoubtedly very sensible that a war has already commenced between Great Britain and the colonies; hostilities have already begun. To fight the King's troops has become inevitable. The colonies cannot avoid it. But pray, is it necessary the people of your country and ours should butcher each other? God forbid. There are no controversies subsisting between *us*. Pray let old England and the colonies fight it out, and the Canadians stand by and see what the arm of flesh can do. . . . We expect gentlemen you will in good time, favor us with an answer, and in the interim, we subscribe ourselves your unfeigned friends.

Ethan and Easton returned to Crown Point on the 6th. At about this time a French *habitant* named Pierre Charlan arrived there, and, finding Ethan, announced that he came from Walker, in Montreal, to tell the General of the Bostonians that the English were trying to make the Canadians take up arms, but that they did not want to and did not know what to do. For some reason, Ethan was not convinced of Pierre's authenticity, and had him locked up in the guard-house. He released him after a few days, however, and sent him back to Montreal with messages for the Canadians.

Meanwhile, a man named Ferris (evidently one of the Green Mountain Boys) had come in from Montreal, bringing word that Saint-Luc la Corne (beatified for his participation in the French and Indian War) was inciting the *habitants* and Indians to take part in the war against the Colonies. The news rekindled Ethan's longing to capture Canada. Easton told him that the Massachusetts Provincial Congress had approved the Ticonderoga exploit, so he addressed his

next appeal to that body, writing from Crown Point on the 9th. He pointed out that two or three thousand men conducted by 'Intripit Commanders' could easily vanquish the ministerial party in Canada, with the result that the Quebec Act would be nullified, the French and Indians united to the colonists' cause, and regulars diverted from the defense of Boston. In this letter Ethan again used the 'eagle wings' simile. The image of America rising on eagle wings to glory and fame fascinated him.

The next day, Ethan called a council of officers to consider their situation. Easton, Warner, Baker, and Brother Ira were present, as well as Major Samuel Elmore, of the 'Connecticut Forces,' James Noble, 'Commandant at this place,' Wait Hopkins, Joseph McClunken, Barnabas Barnum, and some others. They met in the afternoon and had commenced to discuss the situation when somebody sighted the *Enterprise*, with the rest of the fleet, coming in from the north.

Arnold dropped anchor at five o'clock and immediately went ashore. Hearing that Ethan was there and had called a council, he sent for Elmore, who excused himself from the council and reported to Arnold. Elmore returned in a few minutes with word that Arnold ordered them to disperse. Arnold returned to his flagship for the night, and the council dispersed, soon after Elmore's return, but before doing so it appointed Ethan, Warner, and Baker to go to Congress to try to straighten things out. The officers present signed a round robin letter for them to take with them, mentioning that

Colonel Allen has behaved in this affair, very singularly remarkable for his courage. We must, in duty, recommend him to you and the whole Continent.

In the morning, Ethan, Easton, and Elmore started for Ticonderoga by boat, but one of Arnold's captains saw them and ordered them ashore. Arnold started to speak to Elmore, whereupon Easton interrupted. Taking offense Arnold (in his own words)

took the liberty of breaking his head, and on his refusing to draw like a gentleman, he having a hangar by his side and a case of loaded pistols by his pocket, I kicked him very heartily and ordered him from the Point immediately.

Meanwhile, Ethan, with the round robin letter in his pocket, and accompanied by Seth Warner (for some reason Baker did not go with them), had resumed his journey to Philadelphia, going by way of Ticonderoga and Bennington. There is a tradition that while in that town, he went to meeting and heard Parson Jedidiah Dewey offer a prayer of thanksgiving for the capture of Ticonderoga, praising God for His bounty. In the midst of the prayer Ethan called out: 'Parson Dewey, Parson Dewey, Parson Dewey.' The third time his name was pronounced, the parson paused and opened his eyes. Ethan then raised both hands and said: 'Please mention to the Lord about my being there.' The parson, without moving his hands or looking up again, murmured, 'Sit down, Ethan Allen. When I want you I will call upon you'; and continued the prayer.

Friday, the 23d of June, Ethan and Seth appeared before the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. Sitting with the New York delegation was their old enemy James Duane. In spite of prejudice against them, however, Ethan and Seth seem to have made a favorable impression upon the austere revolutionists. When the visitors had withdrawn, Congress resolved

to pay the men and officers of the Ticonderoga expedition as though they had been enlisted in the Continental Army. Another resolution authorized the organization of a regiment of Green Mountain Boys under such officers as they themselves should choose. In a letter to the New York Provincial Congress, John Hancock explained that it had been represented to the Continental Congress (obviously by Ethan) that the Green Mountain Boys would not serve under any officers except those they chose themselves. Hancock's letter and the resolutions of Congress were forwarded to New York and taken into consideration by the Provincial Congress on the 4th of July (the day on which Washington took command of the American forces at Cambridge and one year before the Declaration of Independence). While this was taking place the Provincial Congress was informed that Ethan was at the door and desired admittance. Now the Congress included many men who held New York grants to the land east of Lake Champlain and regarded Ethan as almost as great an enemy to their interests as George III. By the capture of Ticonderoga, he had won immunity from the reward on his head but several of the members considered it presumptuous of him to appear in their halls. A vote was taken which showed a majority of eighteen to nine in favor of admitting him, the delegates from Albany, Richmond, and New York Counties dissenting.

The Provincial Congress passed the necessary resolutions for forming the regiment of Green Mountain Boys and instructed General Schuyler to find out who would be most agreeable to them for field officers. At the General's suggestion, Ethan and Seth were advanced thirty pounds, out of the money coming to them

from the Continental Treasury for their participation in the Ticonderoga affair. Ethan then submitted a list of suggested officers for the regiment. Seth and himself were to be the field officers; Remember Baker, Robert Cochran, Peleg Sunderland, Heman Allen, and some others captains; Ira a first lieutenant; Levi the adjutant; Elijah Babcock the commissary; and Jonas Fay (of course) the doctor and surgeon. With that, the two ex-outlaws withdrew.

Before leaving New York, Ethan and Seth dispatched a letter to the Connecticut delegates at Philadelphia on behalf of William Williams, a former ranger, who wanted a majority in the Continental service. And on the way to Albany, Ethan wrote a flowery letter to Governor Trumbull telling him about the trip to Congress and the pay he was to receive with

a Little of that from Connecticut would be thankfully received as we serv'd Equally in the Night as in the Day in Making a Conquest of Lake Champlain.

He also informed the Governor,

The Notice Your Honour as well as the Grand Continental Congress I add the Provential Congress of New York hath Taken of my Zeal in the Common Cause hath more confirmedly and authoritatively Determined me to Hazard my Life in the same and exert the small Abilities with which I am Indowed to the utmost as I have Rec'd Assurances from both Congresses of shortly being admitted to an Honourable Perferment in the Army.

By July 12, Ethan and Seth had reached Bennington. Ethan probably put up at Landlord Fay's. He was there when a man named Bennett brought in the mail from the north. Bennett confirmed Ethan's theory (quite erroneous, of course) that the Canadians and Indians were ready to join the Colonies but needed

some encouragement — such as taking Montreal. Before Bennett got away, Ethan wrote a note for him to take with him to Hartford and deliver to Governor Trumbull, asking him to listen to Bennett's news. He also said:

Were it not that the Grand Continental Congress had lately incorporated the Green Mountain Boys into a Batallion under certain regulation and command I would fourthwith advance them into Canada and invest Montreal exclusive of any help from the Colonies — Tho under present circumstances I would not for my right arm act without or contrary to Orders if my fond zeal of reducing the kings fortresses and destroying or imprisoning his Troops in Canada be the result of enthusiasm I hope and expect the wisdom of the continent will treat it as such and on the other hand if it proceed from sound policy that the plan will be adopted. —

From Bennington Ethan went to Ticonderoga, recruiting for the regiment on the way. The future looked very bright. He dreamed of having a regiment to command and, reaching the fort on July 20, he put some of his cheerfulness into a letter to the New York Provincial Congress which said in essence 'Let's let bygones be bygones now that we're all working together.' It reads:

When I reflect on the unhappy controversy which hath many years subsisted between the government of New York and the settlers of the New Hampshire Grants, and also contemplate on the friendship and union that hath lately taken place between the government and those its former discontented subjects, in making a united resistance against ministerial vengeance and slavery, I cannot but indulge fond hopes of reconciliation. To promote this salutary end, I shall contribute my influence, assuring your Honours that your respectful treatment not only to Mr. Worner and myself, but to the Green Mountain Boys

in general, in forming them into a battalion, are by them duly regarded, and I will be responsible that they will retaliate this favour by wholly hazarding their lives, if needs be, in the common cause of America.

I hope no gentlemen in the Congress will retain any preconceived prejudice against me, as on my part I shall not against any of them; but as soon as opportunity may permit and the public cause not suffer thereby, shall hold myself in readiness to settle all former disputes and grievances on honourable terms.

The letter, like many others, was written in a burst of enthusiasm. Ethan had sold the regiment idea, and, from all appearances, was about to sell the Canada idea as well. He must have pictured himself, at the head of the regiment of uniformed Green Mountain Boys, mounting the walls of Montreal in the light of a resplendent dawn. The least he could do was to forgive the Yorkers for wanting to possess his lands.

One week later there assembled at Cephas Kent's tavern, in Dorset, a meeting of the committees of several towns on the west side of the Green Mountains. When the customary toasts had been drunk, Nathan Clark was chosen chairman and John Fassett clerk. The meeting then proceeded to elect officers for the regiment. Nominations were made: Warner was chosen lieutenant-colonel by a majority of forty-one to five and Samuel Safford major by a vote of twenty-eight to seventeen. Heman was one of the captains and Ira a first lieutenant, but Ethan's name was nowhere mentioned. Presumably he was the man for whom five votes were cast for colonel.

The action of this convention has never been satisfactorily explained. Though it was agreed that the Green Mountain Boys should suggest their own officers, the choice was taken away from them by their

fathers and uncles. It is clear that these older, stay-at-home men were not in sympathy with the young radical element typified by Ethan. They distrusted his religious nonconformity and his unrestrained enthusiasm. Warner, though younger, was much more conservative. It is safe to say that the men themselves would have chosen Ethan, their acknowledged leader and hero. Perhaps that is why the wise old committeemen hastened to pass him by in favor of one who was on occasion capable of taking orders. When Ethan heard the news, he wrote to his friend, Governor Trumbull:

Notwithstanding my zeal and success in my Countrys Cause the old Farmers on the New Hampshire Grants who do not incline to go to war have met in a Committees Meeting and in their Nomination of Officers for the regiment of Green Mountain Boys who are to quickly be raised have wholly omitted me but as the Commissions will come from the Continental Congress I hope they will remember me as I desire to remain in the service. . . . I find myself in favour of the Officers of the army and the young Green Mountain Boys how the old men came to reject me I cannot conceive inasmuch as I saved them from the incroachments of New York.

The more he thought about it, the more furious Ethan became. Was it possible that Warner had double-crossed him? The men joined in the row (as usual) and most of them sided with Ethan. For a while it looked as though it would be impossible to enlist a regiment unless Ethan were given the command. Schuyler, who had come to Ticonderoga to mobilize an army for the advance into Canada (Congress had at last decided to make the move), did his best to appease him, and promised to take him along on the expedition, even if he had no commission. Ethan

grumbled, but he stayed at headquarters, doing what he could to help with the preparations for the advance. The commissioned officers liked and respected him. When Jeremiah Halsey who had taken over the command of the fleet from Arnold, petitioned for his discharge, he obtained the signatures of all the officers present at Crown Point and two civilians, Will Gilliland and Ethan Allen. Will was the principal landholder of that part of the country and Ethan was Ethan. But Schuyler, mentioning him in a letter (written later in the fall) to John Hancock, noted:

I always dreaded his impatience of subordination; and it was not until after a solemn promise, made me in the presence of several officers, that he would demean himself properly, that I would permit him to attend the army; nor would I have consented then, had not his solicitations been backed by several officers.

CHAPTER XIV

MONTREAL

EARLY in September, the army advanced to Isle aux Noix. Schuyler believed that if the French Canadians were told that the designs of his army were not against them, their liberties or religion, but only against the English garrisons, they might remain neutral. Knowing Ethan's powers of persuasion, the General selected him to go ahead of the army, as a missionary, to describe to the civilians, French and English alike, the benefits of liberty. Taking his friend John Brown with him, as well as French interpreters and Indian guides, Ethan advanced, by canoe, down the Sorel River to James Livingston's settlement at Chambly, the south end of the portage from the St. Lawrence. *Habitants* and Indians came to see him, as he journeyed, trying to find out the true strength of the advancing American army. Two Caughnawaga chiefs, bringing beads and a wampum belt as a testimony of their friendship, came to say that their people really sympathized with the colonists, but that the regulars gave them rum and 'inveigled' them to 'fight General Schuyler.'

When Ethan returned, the army was encamped before St. John's. Schuyler had left for Albany, and Montgomery was in command of the expedition. Ethan assisted in laying a line of circumvallation around the fortress of St. John's, but then, although he wanted to take part in the siege, he was sent off by the new commander on another reconnaissance. The General evidently regarded this as a dangerous mission for he took pains to promise Ethan that, should he

fall into the hands of the enemy, every effort would be made for his exchange. John Brown, happening to be present at the time, overheard Montgomery make this promise.

Escorted by Captain Duggan with six or seven Canadians, as well as a small number of Connecticut militiamen, Ethan left the camp on Sunday the 17th. On Tuesday he appointed a certain Jan Minner (evidently a friendly *habitant*) commissary to provide bread, beef, pork, and rum for the 'friends of liberty.' As he traveled north along the river, he recruited among the *habitants*, and very successfully, for, by the time he reached St. Tours on Wednesday, three days after he started, he was able to write Montgomery that he had two hundred fifty Canadians under arms. He added:

as I march, they gather fast. . . . You may rely on it that I shall join you in about three days, with five hundred or more Canadian volunteers. I could raise one or two thousand in a week's time. . . . I swear by the Lord I can raise three times the number of our Army in Canada, provided you continue the siege etc.

Besides gathering recruits he bought six hogsheads of rum and sent a sergeant with a guard to deliver it at headquarters. He also purchased bread and flour from the farmers.

When he reached Chambly this time, Ethan crossed the portage to Longueuil which faces Montreal across the St. Lawrence. Remaining there for several days he opened communications with Brown and Warner, who were at La Prairie, ten miles up the St. Lawrence. They sent a messenger to inform the General that they had a project of making an attack on Montreal. Forwarding this news to Schuyler, Montgomery added

that he thought the troops were not fit for it, though Montreal was certainly in a defenseless condition.

Early in the morning of September 24, Ethan, with about eighty men, set out from Longueuil for La Prairie. When he had marched along the river about two miles, he came upon John Brown. At the latter's suggestion they, with some other officers of Ethan's party, held a council of war in a house which stood near by. Brown proposed that, if Ethan would return to Longueuil, procure some canoes and cross the river north of Montreal, he himself would cross at La Prairie south of the city, and they would be able to surprise it simultaneously from opposite sides. When ready to attack, Brown was to give a cheer of three huzzas, which Ethan's men would return, advancing forthwith. Ethan jumped at the idea, and, returning to Longueuil, crossed the river that night.

Looking at the evidence (such as it is) from a comfortable distance, the plan appears impulsive, hastily considered, executed without due attention to details. On the other hand, the chance of success was good and the stakes were enormous.

At Longueuil, Ethan had in all about one hundred ten men. More than eighty were Canadian *habitants*, hired at fifteen pence a day and a promise of a share of the plunder of Montreal and Quebec (Ethan probably mentioned London to some of them). The rest were Connecticut militiamen from the towns of Salisbury, Norfolk, Sharon, Woodbury, New Milford, Goshen, Wallingford, Hartford, and Stamford — a diversity which indicates that the men had individually volunteered for the reconnoitering expedition.

As at Hand's Cove in May there was a shortage of boats. The canoes had to make three trips in order

to carry the men across the river. As soon as it was light enough to do so, Ethan reconnoitered his position and sent out scouts to listen for Brown's signal.

When the sun was two hours high and there was still no sound from Brown, Ethan realized that something was wrong. With so few canoes, retreat was impossible, while to advance against a well-fortified, superior force would be ridiculous. In this predicament he sent off scouts to La Prairie to try to find Brown, and to the French settlement at L'Assomption, where Walker, the chairman of the Montreal Committee of Correspondence, lived.

Meanwhile, the people of Montreal, seeing a detachment of rebels approaching, were in a state of panic. General Carleton was seriously considering abandoning the town and retreating by water to Quebec when a scout brought word that the rebel army was only Ethan with a hundred men. Carleton assembled a force of about five hundred, made up of a few regulars, Indians, Canadians, and English loyalists (men who had property to protect, very likely), and advanced.

The Montrealers came upon Ethan between two and three in the afternoon. He had picked out the strongest position he could find and was awaiting results. Both sides deployed and fired from behind woodpiles, ditches, buildings, and trees. Hoping to flank the enemy, Ethan sent out a detachment of Canadians, who promptly deserted. A second detachment did the same. When he had about forty-five (including wounded) men left, he began to retreat toward the river. He was soon out of range of the regulars, but the civilians and Indians were flanking and closing in on him. Before long he found himself being chased by a

British officer who was about to discharge his fusée. A moment later, the bullet whizzed by and Ethan returned fire, his shot also missing. Still running, he shouted that, if he were treated with honor and his men assured of quarter, he would surrender. The British officer (also still running) agreed. Ethan halted and ordered his men (thirty-eight including seven wounded) to ground their arms. In Ethan's words:

The officer I capitulated with, then directed me and my party to advance towards him, which was done; I handed him my sword, and in half a minute after, a savage, part of whose head was shaved, being almost naked and painted, with feathers intermixed with the hair of the other side of his head, came running to me with an incredible swiftness; he seemed to advance with more than mortal speed; as he approached near me, his hellish visage was beyond all description; snakes' eyes appear innocent in comparison of his; his features extorted; malice death, murder, and the wrath of devils and damned spirits are the emblems of his countenance; and in less than twelve feet of me, presented his firelock; at the instant of his present, I twitched the officer, to whom I gave my sword, between me and the savage; but he flew round with great fury, trying to single me out to shoot me without killing the officer; but by this time I was near as nimble as he, keeping the officer in such a position that his danger was my defence; but, in less than half a minute, I was attacked by just such another imp of hell: Then I made the officer fly around with incredible velocity, for a few seconds of time, when I perceived a Canadian, who had lost one eye as appeared afterwards, taking my part against the savages; and in an instant an Irishman came to my assistance with a fixed bayonet, and drove away the fiends, swearing by *Jasus* he would kill them. This tragic scene composed my mind. The escaping from so awful a death, made even imprisonment happy; the more so as my conquerors on the field treated me with great civility and politeness.

The regular officers said that they were very happy to see Col. Allen: I answered them, that I should rather choose to have seen them at Gen. Montgomery's camp. The gentlemen replied, that they gave full credit to what I said, and as I walked to the town, which was, as I should guess, more than two miles, a British officer walking at my right hand, and one of the French noblesse at my left; the latter of which, in the action had his eyebrow carried away by a glancing shot, but was nevertheless very merry and facetious, and no abuse was offered me 'till I came to the barrack yard at Montreal, where I met General Prescott, who asked me my name, which I told him: He then asked me, whether I was that Col. Allen, who took Ticonderoga. I told him I was the very man. Then he shook his cane over my head, calling many hard names, among which he frequently used the word rebel, and put himself in a great rage. I told him he would do well not to cane me, for I was not accustomed to it, and shook my fist at him, telling him that was the beetle of mortality for him, if he offered to strike; upon which Capt. M'Cloud of the British, pulled him by the skirt, and whispered to him, as he afterwards to me, to this import; that it was inconsistent with his honor to strike a prisoner. He then ordered a sergeant's command with fixed bayonets to come forward, and kill thirteen Canadians, which were included in the treaty aforesaid.

It cut me to the heart to see the Canadians in so hard a case, in consequence of their having been true to me; they were wringing their hands, saying their prayers, as I concluded, and expected immediate death. I therefore stepped between the executioners and the Canadians, opened my clothes, and told Gen. Prescott to thrust his bayonet into my breast, for I was the sole cause of the Canadians taking up arms.

The guard, in the meantime, rolling their eye-balls from the General to me, as though impatiently waiting his dread commands to sheath their bayonets in my heart; I could, however, plainly discern, that he was in a suspense and quandry about the matter: This gave me additional hopes of succeeding; for my design was not to

die, but to save the Canadians by a finesse. The general stood a minute, when he made me the following reply; 'I will not execute you now; but you shall grace a halter **at** Tyburn, God damn you.'

CHAPTER XV

IN WHICH ETHAN CHEWS NAILS AND DRINKS MADEIRA

WITH Prescott's promise ringing in his ears, Ethan was hurried aboard a ship-of-war and placed in irons (handcuffs, and heavy leg-irons with a bar eight feet long attached to them in such a way that he could lie down only on his back) in the lowest hold. He must have spent a night of agony, his limbs aching, his mind tortured by the memory of his shattered dream. But morning found his spirit unbroken. He somehow managed to procure a quill and address a letter to Prescott remonstrating against the injustice of his treatment. If the General received this missive, he did not deign to answer it.

Ethan was left in irons on board the ship-of-war for nearly a month. He was abused and insulted by the officers and sailors, but sometimes, losing his temper, he awed them to silence by the magnificence of his oaths. On one occasion he twisted off with his teeth the nail which went through the mortise of the bar of his handcuff. The nail was replaced by a heavy padlock.

Early in November, he was taken to Quebec and soon afterwards placed aboard a transport ship and sent to England. With the thirty-three men taken with him at Montreal, he was placed in a lightless pen about twenty feet square, made of white-oak plank. It contained no furniture except two excrement tubs. During the voyage small allotments of food and water were thrust into the pen. Its inmates were soon

covered with lice, and most of them were suffering from scurvy before the voyage was over.

Landed at Falmouth, early in December, they were taken to Pendennis Castle, a citadel which stands on a high cliff overlooking the town and the Channel. The citizens of Falmouth gathered to see the strange prisoners — ‘Americans’ — marched through their town, and people came from far and near to look at the backwoodsman who had captured the ‘Gibraltar of America.’ They were amazed by his immense size and strange clothes — a double-breasted fawnskin jacket, undervest and breeches of sagathy, worsted stockings, and a red worsted cap. He harangued them on the joys of Liberty and answered, word for word, when bright young men, who had brought their girls to see the product of the wilderness, tried to make fun of him. In his own words:

It was a common thing for me to be taken out of close confinement, into a spacious green in the castle, or rather parade, where numbers of gentlemen and ladies were ready to see and hear me. I often entertained such audiences, with harrangues on the impracticability of Great Britain’s conquering the then colonies of America. At one of these times I asked a gentleman for a bowl of punch, and he ordered his servant to bring it, which he did, and offered it to me, but I refused to take it from the hand of his servant; he then gave it to me with his own hand, refusing to drink with me in consequence of my being a state criminal: However, I took the punch and drank it all down in one draught, and handed the gentleman the bowl: this made the spectators as well as myself merry.

I expatiated on American freedom. This gained the resentment of a young beardless gentleman of the company, who gave himself very great airs, and replied, that he ‘knew the Americans very well, and was certain that

they could not bear the smell of powder.' I replied, that I accepted it as a challenge, and was ready to convince him on the spot, that an American could bear the smell of powder; at which he answered that he should not put himself on a par with me. I then demanded of him to treat the character of the Americans with due respect. He answered that I was an Irishman; but I assured him that I was a full blooded Yankee, and in fine bantered him so much, that he left me in possession of the ground, and the laugh went against him. Two clergymen came to see me, and inasmuch as they behaved with civility, I returned them the same. We discoursed on several parts of moral philosophy and christianity; and they seemed to be surprised that I should be acquainted with such topics, or that I should understand a syllogism, or regular mode of argumentation.

Meanwhile, in London, the Cabinet was wondering what to do with its prisoner. Ethan was clearly guilty of treason and deserved to be hanged but the Whig party in Parliament was growing and the rebels had taken prisoners (among them General Prescott) on whom they could retaliate.

The Cabinet was to meet at Lord Suffolk's at noon on the 27th of December to consider this problem. Alexander Wedderburn, the Solicitor-General, had been thinking it over, and that morning, believing he had hit upon a solution, he sent a note to William Eden, Under-Secretary of State, explaining his idea. It was, in short, to buy Ethan instead of hanging him — a suggestion based on a practice which the King had found wonderfully successful among members of Parliament. A 'person of confidence' was to propose to Ethan that his case had been favorably represented to the Ministry who (if he had a mind to return to his duty) would pardon his former mis-

demeanors, give him command of a company of rangers, and assure him title to his lands.

The gentlemen of the Cabinet were entertained by Lord Suffolk at the appointed time. Neither their reticence nor His Lordship's paneled walls disclosed what letters were read, what ideas exchanged, what plans concocted, that afternoon. Less than a fortnight later, Ethan was ordered on board the Solebay frigate to sail for America as a prisoner of war.

Early in February, the fleet of which the Solebay was a part put in at the cove of Cork. News reached the shore that Ethan was aboard. The Irishmen sympathized with the American rebels — would perhaps have sympathized with anybody who resisted British sovereignty. The gentlemen of the town collected a purse and a hamper filled with wines, spirits, geneva, loaf and brown sugar, coffee, tea, chocolate, pickled beef, fat turkeys, and many other delicacies, as well as superfine broadcloth, sufficient for two jackets and two pairs of breeches, eight fine Holland shirts and stocks ready-made, silk and worsted stockings, two pairs of shoes, two beaver hats, one of which was richly laced with gold, and two silk suits, one blue and one green. The Irishmen loaded their donation into a boat and appointed two of their number to take it out to Ethan. When they arrived, the captain and first lieutenant of the frigate were (fortunately) ashore, and the second lieutenant, a mere boy, permitted them to board. While giving Ethan their presents, they (apparently) slipped him a small poniard. He was honestly touched by this generosity and immediately wrote a note of thanks for the envoys to take back to the Gentlemen of the town, saying,

I received your generous present this day with a joyful heart. Thanks to God, there are still the feelings of humanity in the worthy citizens of Cork, towards those of your bone and flesh, who, through misfortune from the present broils in the Empire are needy prisoners.

Ethan's gratitude was touching, but his rejoicing was short-lived. The captain soon returned and appropriated all of the wine, liquor, and meats, leaving Ethan only his new clothes with which to remember Irish generosity. He concealed his dagger, however, and managed to save it.

Once again the fleet set sail for America but tempestuous seas forced the British convoy to put in at the island of Madeira. Once again news reached shore that Ethan was aboard and the natives collected a ship's store for him, but the wind came around and the Solebay weighed anchor and set sail before their boat had reached her side.

The fleet carried an expedition commanded by Lord Cornwallis which was to invade the Carolinas. Ethan caught a glimpse of the commander-in-chief (probably either at Cork or at Madeira) and afterwards told his friends that His Lordship was a large noble-looking man who took more ground to stand on than any man he had ever seen.

Cape Fear was sighted the 3d of May. Soon afterwards Ethan was transferred to the Mercury, Captain Montague, which put to sea at once and came to anchor at the Hook, off New York, the first week in June. There two of Ethan's old acquaintances, Tryon and Kempe, came aboard. They did not deign to speak to him, remaining to windward (subalterns and prisoners were permitted to use only the leeward side of the deck), but after their visit his treatment was

noticeably worse. Soon afterwards the Mercury sailed for Halifax, where it arrived about the middle of June. This summer Ethan wrote and managed to send off a number of letters to the Connecticut Assembly. They were received and his brother Levi (who had been making every effort to have him exchanged) was appointed to try to reach him with stores and money. But in October he was taken back to New York, and, late in November, landed and admitted to parole. As he afterwards wrote:

I soon projected means to live in some measure agreeable to my rank, though I was destitute of cash. My constitution was almost worn out by such a long and barbarous captivity. The enemy gave out that I was crazy, and wholly unmanned, but my vitals held sound, nor was I delirious any more than I have been from youth up; but my extreme circumstances, at certain times, rendered it political to act in some measure the madman; and in consequence of a regular diet and exercise, my blood recruited, and my nerves in a great measure recovered their former tone, strength and usefulness, in the course of six months.

Alexander Graydon, who was a prisoner on parole in New York at the same time as Ethan, described him in his 'Memoirs' as follows:

His figure was that of a robust, large-framed man, worn down by confinement and hard fare — a suit of blue clothes, with a gold laced hat that had been presented to him by the gentlemen of Cork enabled him to make a very passable appearance for a rebel colonel — I have seldom met with a man, possessing, in my opinion, a stronger mind, or whose mode of expression was more vehement and oratorical. His style was a singular compound of local barbarisms, scriptural phrases, and oriental wildness; and though unclassic and sometimes ungrammatical, it was highly animated and forcible — Notwithstanding

that Allen might have had something of the insubordinate lawless frontier spirit in his composition, he appeared to me to be a man of generosity and honour.

Meanwhile, Alexander Wedderburn's plan had not been forgotten. One day (in Ethan's words):

A British officer of rank and importance in their army . . . sent for me to his lodgings, and told me, 'That faithfulness, though in a wrong cause, had nevertheless recommended me to Gen. Sir William Howe, who was minded to make me a Colonel of a regiment of new levies, alias tories, in the British service; and proposed that I should go with him, and some other officers, to England, who would embark for that purpose in a few days, and there be introduced to Lord G. Germaine, and probably to the King; and, that previously I should be clothed equal to such an introduction, and, instead of paper rags, be paid in hard guineas; after this should embark with Gen. Burgoyne, and assist in the reduction of the country, which infallibly would be conquered, and, when that should be done, I should have a large tract of land, either in the New-Hampshire grants, or in Connecticut, it would make no odds, as the country would be forfeited to the crown.' I then replied, 'That, if by faithfulness I had recommended myself to Gen. Howe, I should be loth, by unfaithfulness, to lose the General's good opinion; besides, that I viewed the offer of land to be similar to that which the devil offered Jesus Christ, "to give him all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worship him"; when at the same time, that the damned soul had not one foot of land upon earth.' This closed the conversation, and the gentleman turned from me with an air of dislike, saying that I was a bigot; upon which I retired to my lodgings.

As Ethan regained bodily strength, his resentment against his captors became more active. He had never been discreet or cautious and while on parole he took

every opportunity that came his way to tell his enemies what he thought of them.

James Rivington, publisher of the 'Gazette' and leader of the loyalist press in America, used to tell his friends the story of an encounter with Ethan. Ethan's version (for obvious reasons) was never told.

Rivington was a caustic writer whose remarks — in the 'Gazette' — were often remembered with bitterness for years. He had the entire confidence of the British authorities and held the rebels in great contempt.

Ethan — according to the story — read some of these editorials and swore he would lick Rivington the first opportunity he had. The publisher was not comforted by rumors of this threat. He was a portly man who dressed in the extreme of fashion (curled and powdered hair, claret-colored coat, scarlet waistcoat trimmed with gold lace, buckskin breeches and top boots) and kept the very best society. One day when he was sitting in his office (at the southeast corner of Pearl and Wall Streets) he saw Ethan coming down the street. As Rivington told the story:

I was sitting after a good dinner, alone, with my bottle of Madeira before me, when I heard an unusual noise in the street, and a huzza from the boys. I was in the second story, and, stepping to the window, saw a tall figure in tarnished regimentals, with a large cocked hat and an enormous long sword, followed by a crowd of boys, who occasionally cheered him with huzzas, of which he seemed insensible. He came up to my door and stopped. I could see no more. My heart told me it was Ethan Allen. I shut down my window and retired behind my table and bottle. I was certain the hour of reckoning had come. There was no retreat. Mr. Staples, my clerk, came in — paler than ever — and, clasping his hands, said, 'Master,

he is come. He entered the store and asked if James Rivington lived there. I told him that he did and he asked if he were at home. I told him I would go and see. And now master what is to be done? There he is in the store, and the boys peeping at him from the street.'

I had made up my mind. I looked at the bottle of Madeira — possibly took a glass. 'Show him up,' I said, 'and if such Madeira cannot mollify him, he must be harder than adamant.'

There was a fearful moment of suspense. I heard him on the stairs, his long sword clanking at every step. In he stalked. 'Is your name James Rivington?' 'It is, sir, and no man could be more happy than I am to see Colonel Ethan Allen.' 'Sir, I have come ——' 'Not another word, my dear colonel, until you have taken a seat and a glass of old Madeira.' 'But, sir, I don't think it proper ——' 'Not another word, colonel. Taste this wine; I have had it in glass for ten years. Old wine, you know, unless it is originally sound, never improves by age.' He took the glass, swallowed the wine, smacked his lips, and shook his head approvingly. 'Sir, I come ——' 'Not another word until you have taken another glass, and then, my dear Colonel, we will talk of old affairs, and I have some droll events to detail.' In short, we finished two bottles of Madeira, and parted as good friends as if we never had cause to be otherwise.

CHAPTER XVI

THE EXCHANGE

IN January, 1777, Ethan was removed from New York City to the western end of Long Island. He obtained passable quarters there and devoted himself to regaining his health which was seriously impaired from confinement. Meanwhile, his brothers, Heman and Levi, were doing what they could to bring about his exchange. Both Washington and Schuyler, as well as Gouverneur Morris, were interested in his cause, but, as Burgoyne made ready to advance, the British showed less inclination to make exchanges and the officers' attitude toward their prisoners became increasingly haughty and overbearing.

Brother Levi, Colonel Selah Hart and Jonas Fay brought Ethan money. He was able to live comfortably, but it was almost intolerable to remain idly marking time, listening to the news of Burgoyne's advance and longing to be at the front. His only consolation was writing letters to his brothers, the Connecticut Assembly and the Massachusetts Board of War. He compared paroled officers to 'mere ciphers exempted from both danger and honour.' Then in May Heman wrote that Joseph, Ethan's only son, had taken small-pox and died. The desponding father replied:

I fear some quack doctor has murdered him to improve in the art of inoculation. If I find it so when I return to the circumstance of Liberty and have a certainty of the truth of this Conjecture, I shall destroy such a wretch from the face of the earth: But on the other hand, if proper measures were taken, and his death has been inevitable —

I submit to fate. Tho' I had promised myself great delight in clasping the charming boy in my arms, and in recounting to him my adventures. But mortality has frustrated my fond hopes, and with him my name expires — My only son, the darling of my soul — who should have inherited my fortune, and maintained the honour of the family.

And when he wrote to Levi, later in the summer, to thank him for bringing money, he added,

The death of my little boy closely affects the tender passions of my soul, and by turns gives me the most sensible grief. Do not fail to have an eye on the condition of my family; see that the girls be well schooled. I perceive that Ticonderoga, like other tenements and possessions of this changeable world, is snatched from hand to hand.

One day in August the paroled officers on Long Island were passing the time at a tavern when a sergeant's guard arrived, asked for Ethan, arrested him and marched him away to be rowed across the river and locked up in the Provost Jail. The charge was breaking parole. He admitted to Joseph Webb, who visited him a few days later, that it was partly true.

Ethan was confined in the Provost for more than eight months. While he chafed in solitude and idleness, the turning-point of the Revolution was reached and passed: his brothers, friends, and neighbors distinguished themselves at Bennington, Burgoyne surrendered to Gates, and Louis XVI signed treaties of alliance and amity with the thirteen United States.

The 3d of May, 1778, word was brought to Ethan that he was to be exchanged. He was immediately removed from the Provost and taken to General Campbell's headquarters. For two days he was entertained with a certain degree of magnificence by the

General. Then Mr. Boudinot, the American Commissary of Prisoners, arrived with Colonel Archibald Campbell, who was to be exchanged, and, after completing the necessary formalities, returned to Elizabeth, New Jersey, with Ethan, who set foot on 'liberty ground' 'in a transport of joy,' and started at once for Valley Forge, receiving, as he advanced, 'the acclamations of a grateful people.' He fell in with Colonel Sheldon, of the Light Horse, and Josiah Bartlett, the New Hampshire Congressman, and they all reached Valley Forge together.

Washington and his officers received Ethan with courtesy and kindness. The attitude of the officers and the condition of their quarters were in rather strong contrast to those of the British in New York. The General afterwards wrote to the President of Congress:

I have been happy in the exchange, and a visit from Lieutenant Colonel Allen. His fortitude and firmness seem to have placed him out of the reach of misfortune. There is an original something in him that commands admiration; and his long captivity and sufferings have only served to increase if possible, his enthusiastic zeal. He appears very desirous of rendering his services to the States, and of being employed; and at the same time he does not discover any ambition for high rank. Congress will herewith receive a letter from him; and I doubt not they will make such provision for him, as they may think proper and suitable.

In this letter, Ethan thanked Congress for his exchange, adding:

I fancy you have more Officers than soldiers proportionally and being so Infebled Can Patiently recruit my Constitution Except some great and finishing Stroke is Projected in which Case I would gladly attend the British

with the Bayonet to their Inbarcation or Burgoyne their army at Philadelphia. I am Jealous that the English will be recalled from America in Two months Time. Their Officers affected to Treat me Very Politely the Last Two Days I was with them (a poor amends), they Talked of Old Friendships and Affections which formerly subsisted.

Their Ill Success last Campayn and our Alliance with France has Turned their Haughty Tone of Conquest to that of Love.

As General Gates, who, during Ethan's captivity, had made a special effort for his exchange, was about to leave headquarters for the north, he invited Ethan to accompany him. They traveled together as far as Fishkill, and, spending much of the long rides and evenings in conversation, discovered a common interest in real estate speculation.

At Fishkill, Ethan crossed the Hudson and set out for Salisbury. Arriving there on May 25, he found Abigail, Heman's wife, waiting to tell him that her husband had died a week before. On his last day he had asked to be raised from his bed so that he might see the green fields of Salisbury once again. He looked quietly out of the window and seemed to smile. When Abigail laid his head back on the pillow, she realized that he was dead.

Ethan stayed only a day or so in Salisbury. Then he started for the Grants.

CHAPTER XVII

THE HERO

It was almost three years since Ethan, expecting to be chosen to command the Green Mountain Boys and to lead them triumphantly into Canada, had joined Schuyler at Ticonderoga. There is no space to consider might-have-beens. They did not trouble Ethan. His spirit, inherently healthy, optimistic, and exuberant, was based on a solid foundation of animal vigor which could not be undermined by circumstances, bad luck, shattered dreams, or mere facts. There is an original something about him that commands admiration, Washington had observed.

The people of the Grants were as independent, self-sufficient, and pugnacious as ever. They had maintained their independence against all sorts of odds. When Montgomery was killed at Quebec and the Canadian expedition abandoned, the Grants were left in a defenseless condition with a frontier wholly unprotected from the enemy. Many of the able-bodied young men were serving in Warner's regiment with the Continental Army. Of course, as part of New York, the northern counties were free to call on its militia, but that might mean submitting to New York in the matter of land titles. The people preferred risking their necks to risking their land, and, at a series of conventions, determined to defend their own frontiers. The seed of independence was nourished by a little group of able men, which included Heman and Ira Allen, Thomas Chittenden and Jonas Fay; until a convention, held at Westminster early in 1777,

declared the Grants to be a free and independent State and petitioned Congress for admission to the Association of States. The convention called the embryo State 'New Connecticut,' but later, Thomas Young, Ethan's old friend and mentor, suggested the name 'Vermont,' from the French for Green Mountains. Without waiting for the approval of Congress, the Vermonters sent delegates to a convention at Windsor to devise a constitution. Before it was completed, a messenger brought news that Ticonderoga had fallen and that St. Clair was retreating into Vermont before Burgoyne's pursuing army, but a thunderstorm prevented the delegates from leaving the tavern, where they had assembled to concoct a constitution, before their work was finished. No one mentions the Vermont Constitution without referring to its prohibition of slavery: the Vermonters were the only Americans who were at that time prepared to carry the theory of independence to its logical conclusion.

Congress refused to recognize Vermont as a State, but, since New York made no attempt to reconquer its lost territory, Vermont became in fact an independent republic. Although it is doubtful whether the majority of the people at the time wished for this condition or would have ratified the new constitution if submitted to them, the tireless efforts of Ira Allen and his associates, calling themselves the Council of Safety, crowned with the dramatic appeal of the battle of Bennington, converted a dream, a scrap of paper, a bubble, into solid rock. In March, 1778, the Council of Safety was superseded by a Governor, Council, and Assembly, who proceeded about the business of government in a methodical and orderly manner. The crisis was past, a State had been born.

When Ethan reached Sunderland, two months later, he found Mary and his girls living in a small house, beside the Batten Kill. Brother Ira, who lived in Arlington, the adjoining town, in a house sequestered from a Tory who had fled to the British lines, was looking after them. Besides being a member of the Council, Ira was Treasurer of the new State. A near neighbor, Thomas Chittenden (the first customer of the Onion River Company), was the Governor. The reasons for this choice are somewhat obscure. Older than most of the members of the Council of Safety, he had been a colonel of militia and member of the Assembly in Connecticut before coming to Vermont, and had once traveled to the West Indies, but, on the other hand, he was illiterate. Ethan said that Chittenden was the only man he ever knew who was sure to be right in all, even the most difficult and complex cases, and yet could not tell or seem to know why it was so.

The Governor and his Council were in session when Ethan arrived. His friend Jonas Fay and Timothy Brownson (Mary's brother) were present. Ethan attended the meeting and was enthusiastically received by his old friends. His return at a somewhat crucial moment was a good omen for the new State cause: his enthusiasm and magnetism, his force and leadership, his 'original something' was what they most needed, what all of the others lacked. He told them about his captivity, Pendennis Castle, and Cornwallis, about the Gentlemen of Cork, Washington and Gates. He also told them he believed that no ill was likely to happen to the new State by authority of Congress. This assertion was evidently based on his conversation with Josiah Bartlett while passing through New Jersey. It encouraged the Councilors, who were not finding

their task entirely smooth sailing. They soon perceived that in spite of his emaciated appearance Ethan was his old self and was going to be invaluable to them.

At Arlington a messenger reached him with a packet from Gates containing a note from Washington and a brevet colonel's commission in the Continental Service. The words of the congressional resolution granting this commission to Ethan indicate that it was a testimonial, a sort of medal, for past services. His 'fortitude, firmness and zeal in the cause of his country, manifested during the course of his long and cruel captivity, as well as on former occasions,' were being commended by the gentlemen of Congress. A second resolution entitled him to a lieutenant-colonel's pay during the period of his captivity.

Delighted, Ethan sent courteous letters to Washington, Gates, and the President of Congress. He esteemed their approbation, he said, 'above gold and silver.' He was recruiting his constitution with a 'regimen of diet and exercise.' The enemy, he had noticed, kept their ships-of-war cruising on the Lake as though they expected to attack Vermont some time soon. But three hundred men were to be added to Warner's regiment and over a hundred of them were already raised and were guarding the frontier at Rutland. Lake Champlain, he believed, was the road of danger from the enemy.

After giving his letters to the messenger, Ethan started for Bennington, nine miles southwest of Arlington. He was evidently wearing his Gentlemen-of-Cork suit with something to indicate his brevet commission and accompanied by the Governor with his Council. Children must have run from their games,

farmers paused in their plowing, and women peered from the doorways of their cabins, when this imposing cavalcade passed.

The town had changed very little. There were the same cabins and clapboarded houses, the same mud lanes and solid-wheeled ox-carts. Children, dogs, and pigs still ran in the streets while the farmers plowed the heavy clay and their wives spun yarn. The same stones ground grist in the fall, the same blades sawed logs in the winter, the same faces greeted Landlord Fay Saturday afternoon and Parson Dewey Sunday morning.

The people had arranged a sort of triumph for Ethan. He was their Cæsar, the hero of Ticonderoga, the martyr of Montreal: he had liberated them from the tyranny of New York, captured the King's fort, suffered in a prison ship, crossed the sea, and dined with George Washington. Depressed by the dreary hardships of war, poverty, and winter, discouraged by the failure of Congress to recognize their State, they rejoiced at the return of their old leader. If there was anything that the new State movement needed at that moment, it was a figurehead, a colorful leader, a pageant — it was Ethan. Crowds gathered at Landlord Fay's to welcome him home, cannon were fired that evening as well as the next morning, the 'flowing bowl' was passed about, and 'rural felicity sweetened with friendship' glowed in every countenance. In fact, the festivities lasted for several days, and it was arranged that they should culminate with a public hanging, the first ever held in Bennington.

The culprit was a man named David Redding. He had been detected in communicating with the enemy and finally in carrying off a number of guns from

David Robinson's house which was being used as an arsenal. He was convicted of 'enemical conduct' and sentenced to be hanged the 4th of June.

At almost the last moment Redding's attorney, John Burnham, convinced the Council that the law required twelve jurors in a capital case, whereas his client had been convicted by a jury of six. The Council granted a reprieve of a week so that a legal trial might be held. But it was too late to prevent a multitude from assembling on the appointed day to witness the execution. When the people heard of the reprieve, they felt that Redding had somehow cheated them out of a spectacle and threatened to lynch him. The situation looked dangerous until a commotion in a certain part of the crowd attracted its attention to Ethan, who was pressing forward shouting, 'Attention the whole!' Mounting a stump he waved his cocked hat until the people were silent and then announced in a thunderous voice the reasons for the delay, and advised the people to go home and return at the same time a week later, concluding, with an oath, 'You shall see somebody hung at all events, for, if Redding is not then hung, I will be hung myself.' This magnanimous offer quieted the angry mob which dispersed after a few more cheers for its hero. The magic of Ethan's words had saved the day again. In gratitude the Council appointed him State's Attorney for the retrial, and, with very little exertion of magic, he procured a conviction from twelve patriotic jurors.

On the appointed day the Assembly recessed from noon to five so that its members might attend the performance. The gallows had been erected in a field across the road from Landlord Fay's. Before a gaping mob the victim was led from the saddle room of the

tavern shed (there was no jail) to his doom, and his last agonies were exhibited to the accompaniment of cheers for America, Vermont, and Ethan.

For many years a rumor persisted among certain old women of Bennington 'that Doctor Jonas Fay had the anatomy of Redding locked up in his house, and that he could never make the bones come together right,' which, they considered, plainly showed that Redding ought not to have been hanged. But it more probably indicated that Jonas ought not to have been a doctor. This year he was the father of twin sons whom he named Ethan Allen and Heman Allen Fay, out of regard for the brothers.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REPUBLIC

WHEN the excitement of hanging Redding was over, the Assembly resumed, meeting at eight o'clock each morning in the long room of Landlord Fay's tavern. The legislators invited Ethan (who was also staying at the tavern) to attend their sessions, and, in between considering the bills for regulating the Sabbath, destroying wolves, erecting gates on the Albany road, confiscating Tories' estates, and forming a union with sixteen towns which lay along the east bank of the Connecticut, they listened to his stories, drank his health, and reminded each other of the good old days.

Ethan attended the meetings quite unofficially, of course, as the guest of the elected Assemblymen. On the other hand, he was the people's hero, Cæsar just returned from his Triumph. When a petition was received from Eleazer Wheelock, the president of Dartmouth College (it was part of one of the sixteen towns which lay across the river), asking to be appointed Justice of the Peace for cases relating to the College, Ethan wrote the reply. He wrote as though he were the spokesman of the Government — as though (in fact) he were the Government, informing Wheelock that, although his memorial appeared reasonable, for certain reasons it was not to be passed upon until the next session of the Assembly, when representatives of the new district east of the river would be present.

Sooner or later every government has to face the question of money. Ira had been appointed State

Treasurer, but as yet no tax had been imposed upon the people. Meanwhile, current expenses were being met by proceeds from the sale of the confiscated estates of Tories who had fled to the British lines.

It seems to have first occurred to Ethan that a better way to raise money than taxing the people (remember that these people had overthrown one government on account of taxation) would be to confiscate the estates of Tories who had not fled to the British lines. At the moment he naturally felt very bitterly about Tories. His idea was adopted: Nathan Clark, Joseph Bradley, Joseph Fay, Reuben Harmon, and Ethan himself were appointed special commissioners to try persons charged with conduct inimical, treacherous, or treasonable.

As in the case of Wheelock's petition, Ethan proclaimed the action of the Assembly. He was rapidly recovering his old job — Public Relations Counsel. In a letter to Henry Laurens, the President of Congress, Ethan announced that Vermont was going to banish 'enemical' persons to the British lines. He also mentioned the great extent of Vermont's frontier and the cowardice of the enemy, which, alone, prevented them from doing more harm to the inhabitants, adding:

The Green Mountain Boys, have never failed to give the Enemy a Trimming, when Ever they have Come together, War has become the Science of this People, and I flatter my self that the Congress have as loyal subjects in these parts, as in any District of America. I am recovering my health fast.

The Assembly adjourned the next day and Ethan set to work at once to put the law into effect. Dorset was the first town to attract his attention. It was

close to the British outposts, which must have been good customers for wheat and pork. It was also Cephas Kent's town, where Ethan had been rejected for the command of the Green Mountain Boys, a fact which he must have remembered as he rode toward Dorset, through the rich June woods.

The commissioners set up their tribunal in Dorset and tried a number of its citizens charged with 'enemical conduct.' It was like the old days of the 'Judgement Seat' and the purification of Clarendon. Most of the accused men were discharged upon paying the costs of trial, but a certain Asa Baldwin was convicted, ordered to be banished, and his estate confiscated. By a lucky chance, the estate was considerable.

Leaving Dorset, the commissioners proceeded to eradicate other hornets' nests, devoting a fortnight to their circuit, for which they received a salary of a guinea a day. Ira was able to meet this expense from the proceeds of the sale of the estates they had confiscated. These, James Claghorn, the Commissioner of Confiscated Property, sold to the highest bidder. Ethan bid in part of the estate of William Marsh, of Manchester, paying three hundred pounds for one hundred fifty acres on Onion River. That sounds like a pretty high price to pay for land actually in possession of the enemy, but perhaps it is just another example of Ethan's confidence in the ultimate success of his own side.

He collected eight 'wicked Tories' and started for Albany to deliver them to General Stark, who was to forward them south. Writing to Elisha Payne from Arlington on July 11, he mentioned, very significantly, 'These enemical Persons are Yorkers as well as Tories.' He was in fact somewhat confused between 'Tories'

and 'Yorkers': both were hostile and dangerous to the cause of young Vermont. Several of the 'wicked Tories' complained that they were not Tories at all, but merely Yorkers, opposed to the party in power, and that their estates were being confiscated because the Government needed money. Nevertheless, Ethan took them to Albany and forwarded them to Gates at the camp in the Highlands, asking him to send the 'atrocious villains' to the enemies' lines. Washington intervened, however, and ordered that the prisoners be held in 'an easy confinement' at Fort Arnold.

Meanwhile, Ethan had written Gates to say that he had recovered his health and was ready to serve his country in the field, provided a person of his abilities should be wanted. He added that he had plenty of business of his own and realized there were probably plenty of officers.

There were, in fact, too many officers. Furthermore, it was remembered at headquarters that Ethan had been extremely rash, on certain occasions, and his Tory-banishing performances added to the feeling that he was overenthusiastic, had too much of that 'original something.' He was never offered a line commission in the Continental Service, but his faculty for leadership soon found an outlet in the rapidly complicating affairs of the Republic of Vermont.

CHAPTER XIX

ETHAN TAKES THE REINS

AFTER delivering his 'Tories' to Stark, at Albany, Ethan rode across the Berkshire hills to Salisbury. Ira joined him there and, opening Heman's will, they found that they were his executors. To settle up the estate, they advertised in the 'Courant' for debtors to meet their obligations and appointed John Knickerbocker, Jr., their attorney to look after their business in Salisbury. On the way home Ira invited Ethan to join him in the house which he already occupied in Arlington. As soon as his family was settled, Ethan set to work to produce some propaganda for the new State movement. He apparently divided his days between the house in Arlington, and Landlord Fay's in Bennington. When he produced a pamphlet, he dated it from Bennington. It seems that Mary was not very well these days and was more inclined than ever to nag and scold. Perhaps, when he couldn't stand it any longer, Ethan would jump on his favorite mare and gallop down to Bennington to console himself at Landlord Fay's.

There is a story that one evening when he was expected to return from Bennington, a number of his friends wrapped in sheets, hid under a bridge, and, at the psychological moment, jumped into the road, waving their arms like ghosts. Ethan reined his horse, remarking, coolly, 'Well, if you're angels of light, I'm glad to see you, and if you're devils, come on home with me. My wife is the devil's sister.'

When the pamphlet was completed, Ethan called it

No. 5

AN
ANIMADVERSORY
ADDRESS
TO THE
INHABITANTS
OF THE
STATE OF VERMONT
WITH

REMARKS ON A PROCLAMATION, under the Hand of
his Excellency GEORGE CLINTON, Esq; Governor
of the State of NEW-YORK.

BY ETHAN ALLEN.

BARTFORD:

Printed by WATSON and GOODWIN, near the Great Bridge.

M.DCC.LXXVIII.

'An Animadversory Address to the Inhabitants of the State of Vermont; with Remarks on a Proclamation, under the Hand of his Excellency George Clinton Esq; Governor of the State of New-York.' This proclamation of Clinton's, according to Ethan, was simply a ruse to get the rustic Vermonters back under New York's thumb. As bait, Clinton offered to repeal the 'Bloody Law' of 1774. But, as Ethan pointed out, it had died a natural death the first of January, 1776. He went on to say:

In the lifetime of this Act I was called by the Yorkers an outlaw, and afterwards, by the British, was called a rebel; and I humbly conceive that there was as much propriety in the one name as the other: and I verily believe, that the king's commissioners would now be as willing to pardon me for the sin of rebellion, provided I would, afterwards, be subject to Britain, as the legislature above mentioned, provided I would be subject to New York; and, I must confess, I had as leave be subject to the one as the other; and, it is well known, I have had great experience with them both.

Clinton had offered to confirm the title of all land actually settled (even though settled by New Hampshire men on a New York grant), provided Vermont would acknowledge New York jurisdiction. But Ethan pointed out:

For the legislative authority of the state of New York, to pretend, as they do in their proclamation, to vacate any grants made by their own authority, in favor of any possessions, and to confirm such possessions, by nullifying and defeating their own grants, is the height of folly and stupidity. For, the lands being once granted, the property passeth to the grantee; who is become the sole proprietor of the same; and he is as independent of that legislative authority, which granted it, as any person may be supposed to be who purchaseth a farm of land of me by deed

of conveyance. . . . The overtures in the proclamation set forth are either romantic, or calculated to deceive woods people, who, in general may not be supposed to understand law, or the power of a legislative authority.

H. S. Wardner, in his 'Birthplace of Vermont,' comments:

Allen, even if he knew but little, knew his 'woods people.' He reasoned rightly that they would be refreshed and invigorated by his bombast, logic, and humour. He knew that they would look to him as their real leader, if in addition to his public service in displaying hangings and deportations he could also supply his constituents with spicy literature on topics of vital importance. At no stage of his stormy career did Ethan Allen conduct himself with more dash and brilliancy than in the few months after his return from captivity when, on finding his New Hampshire Grants converted into a rickety state surrounded by dangers and with no strong leader in command, he placed himself at the head of things and took personal control.

Ethan dated his 'Address,' Bennington, August 9. He must have completed it that morning and started at once for Hartford to have it printed, because he had reached Salisbury by the 10th. Possibly he needed money for the printing, for that day he sold a three-hundred-acre farm in Tinmouth to Thomas Russell, of Cornwall, for a pound an acre. Proceeding to Hartford, he left his manuscript with his friend Ebenezer Watson, to be set up as a pamphlet, and returned to Salisbury to wait for it to come from the press.

Ira joined him there and they went over their brother's accounts to complete the settlement of his estate. Finding that William Kelsey had not paid for flour obtained before Heman's death, they commenced suit for five thousand pounds and attached his pro-

perty. When John Knickerbocker, Jr., reported what he had accomplished as their attorney, Ira was so favorably impressed that he hired him to return to Arlington as his clerk.

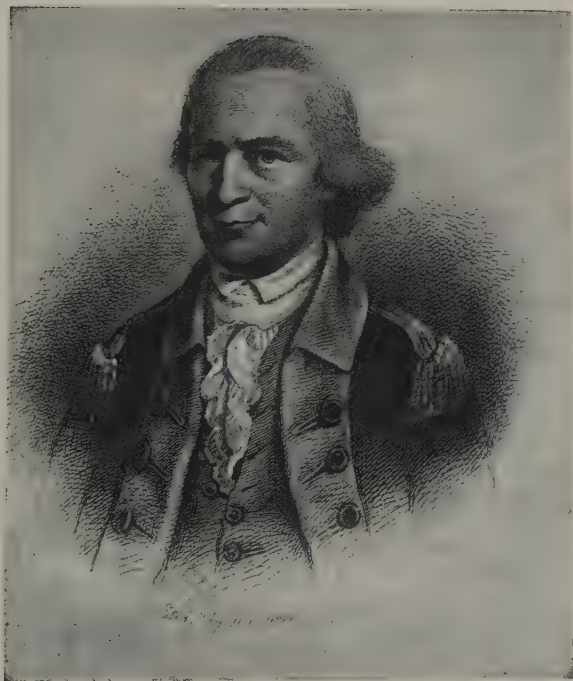
In his will, Heman had left half of his interest in the Onion River Company to Abigail, the other half to be divided equally between Ethan and Ira. Brother Zimri had also died, dividing his interest in the Company equally between his brothers and sisters. And Remember Baker had been killed in the Canadian expedition, so that Ethan and Ira were left as the only active members of the Company. They continued to work along the old lines with Ira as executive and Ethan as sales manager. The only catch, at present, was that all the company's land lay within the British lines.

Ethan's 'Animadversory Address' was printed in the 'Courant' as well as in pamphlet form. On his way home he distributed copies to some of his friends in the Continental Service. When he finally reached Arlington, he found the Governor and his Council in a state of some perplexity. Chittenden had received a letter from Meshech Weare, the 'President' of New Hampshire, complaining of Vermont's union with sixteen of his towns. Weare's letter was addressed to 'Hon. Thomas Chittenden, Esq.' It explained that no slight was meant, but that it would be improper to use the term 'Governor,' since Vermont had not been recognized as a State. Furthermore, considering the difficulty Vermont was having in its effort to be admitted into the Confederacy, Weare hinted, it was astonishing she should supply her enemies with arguments by uniting with people whose circumstances were wholly different. It would be quite as logical, he pointed out,

for Boston to secede from Massachusetts Bay, or Hartford from Connecticut, as for these sixteen towns to transfer themselves from the jurisdiction of New Hampshire to that of — the Honorable T. C., Esquire.

The letter probably infuriated Chittenden and bewildered most of his Council, but it ignited in Ethan's imagination the outlines of a course of action for Vermont. Just back from Hartford, he turned right around again and started for Philadelphia, thinking of Weare's letter and its possibilities, as he rode. Of course, anybody may have originated the plan, but it was Ethan who went to Philadelphia: he was, clearly enough, the most impressive person Chittenden had at his command. He, if anybody, could sell the Vermont idea to Congress, over George Clinton's and Meshech Weare's heads.

Ethan left Arlington on the 8th and reached Philadelphia on the 19th of September. On arriving he found that the New Hampshire delegates had laid before Congress a remonstrance against the union of the sixteen towns with Vermont. It was to be taken into consideration that very day. He immediately got in touch with his former acquaintance, Josiah Bartlett, and begged him not to press Congress to take up the matter until he had an opportunity to return to Vermont and consult the Assembly which was to meet on October 9. Ethan said he believed the February vote would be rescinded and that Vermont would disclaim any pretensions to the east side of the Connecticut River. If this were not done, he, and a good many others, would petition Congress against the union and he himself would present the petition and would use every other means in his power to procure New Hampshire redress against so unjust and impolitic a measure.



GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON
From an etching by H. B. Hall

Bartlett, pleased to find an ally in Vermont, complied with Ethan's request. He had reached Philadelphia in the nick of time; if he could postpone unfavorable action, and use the dissolution of the union as a lever to win New Hampshire's influence in favor of Vermont's admission, he might be able to overcome New York's hostility. As a politician, Ethan was developing very rapidly.

To further the good work he distributed copies of the 'Address' (perhaps he had not had time to remove them from his saddle-bags while in Arlington) among the members of Congress. He also had at least one private conversation with Henry Laurens, the President of Congress, who told him, in confidence, that if the union with the sixteen towns on the east side of the river were dissolved, he had no objection to the Grants on the west side being a State. That was quite a plum for Ethan to take home.

He had further good luck. Some of the friendly members of Congress tried to get him an active commission, but, in face of New York opposition led by Gouverneur Morris, Congress compromised on a lieutenant-colonel's pay — seventy-five dollars a month — to be payable from the date of his brevet commission, during the pleasure of Congress. He probably would have had an active commission if Morris had not seen the 'Animadversory Address.' He could not very well favor the advancement of a man who was making a monkey out of the Governor of his State.

Ethan hurried home. The Assembly was to meet on the 9th of October at Windsor, on the Connecticut River, the leading town on the east side of the mountains, where, a year earlier, the Constitution had been

devised. To take his next trick, Ethan had to get the Assembly to renounce the union, whereupon he would return to Philadelphia and, backed by the New Hampshire delegates, he would force New York to allow Vermont's admission to the Confederacy. This political game was really very simple if you understood how to play your hand.

CHAPTER XX

ETHAN TAKES TRICKS

ACCORDING to the Vermont Constitution, elections for office were held annually on Freeman's Meeting Day — the first Tuesday in September. Proud of possessing a hero, the people of Arlington, in 1778, elected Ethan to the Assembly. When he returned from Philadelphia and learned of his appointment, he declined serving — scorning, it seems, so lowly an office. The Freeman, accordingly, held another meeting and chose Matthew Lyon in Ethan's stead. Nevertheless, he accompanied Lyon and his colleague Fassett to Windsor, just for the fun of it.

When the Assembly convened, Lyon's credentials were found to be irregular, and Ethan, being an Arlington man, was asked to serve as a pinch-hitter Assemblyman. Accordingly, he attended the opening session at the Windsor Meeting-House. But when he was called upon to take the religious test — acknowledging the divine inspiration of the Scriptures and the creed of the Protestant Church — he declined to do so. Though, after that, he was not eligible for membership, he continued to attend the sessions, and even to serve on committees of the Assembly — which may indicate that, at the moment, Ethan seemed more vital to Vermont politics than God.

Saturday morning Ethan submitted to the Assembly a written report of his trip to Philadelphia. It was taken into consideration, along with Weare's letter to Chittenden, by the Governor, Council, and Assembly, sitting as a Committee of the Whole, on Tuesday, the

13th. Ethan's report described the state of affairs at Congress and his arrival in the nick of time, adding that he believed unless Vermont receded from the union immediately the whole power of the Confederacy would join to annihilate it, vindicate New Hampshire, and maintain inviolate the Articles of Confederation which guaranteed to each State its privileges and immunities.

Having heard his official report, the Assemblymen questioned Ethan about his trip. He then produced his plum, Henry Laurens's statement that if the union were dissolved he had no objection to the Grants on the west side of the river being a State. Elisha Payne, who represented Cardigan, one of the troublesome sixteen towns, then asked Ethan whether the New Hampshire Congressmen had agreed with him that if he could get the union with the sixteen towns dissolved they would assist him in disputing New York. Ethan replied: 'Yes, they did, upon honour.' But he never forgave Elisha.

The question of the union and of what to say to President Weare occupied the time of the Assembly, almost exclusively, for the next ten days. In spite of Ethan's statements, there was no motion made to dissolve the union, but, on the contrary, a sub-committee was appointed to outline a justification of the union and a reply to Meshech Weare. Its report was approved and further committees were appointed to draft letters to the Presidents of the New Hampshire Council and of the Continental Congress and to draw up a 'Declaration at large' to be laid before the Assembly. This last committee consisted of Ethan, Jonas Fay, Elisha Payne, Jacob Bayley, and Beza-leel Woodward — a most extraordinary combination.

Ethan and Jonas, close friends, from the west side of the mountains, were only interested in getting Vermont into the Confederacy and believed that the union stood in its way. Payne was the prime instigator of the union and Woodward one of his lieutenants, while Bayley, a member of the Council from the east side of the mountains, was for some reason a particular enemy of Ethan's. Finally the Assembly appointed a committee to draw up a bill dividing the State into four counties. But that night something happened.

Wednesday morning, October 21, a motion that the counties remain as already established was carried by a vote of thirty-five to twenty-six. Since the Connecticut River was the old boundary of the State, the sixteen towns were not included in either of these counties. Their representatives naturally voted with the minority. Ethan, of course, did not vote at all.

A motion was then introduced to include the sixteen towns in Cumberland County and was defeated by a vote of thirty-three to twenty-eight. A final motion was made to form the sixteen towns into a separate county and defeated by the same majority. Their representatives then withdrew to meet by themselves and protest: the union was dissolved; Ethan had taken his second trick.

Chittenden immediately wrote an official letter to Weare announcing the dissolution of the union. Ira was appointed to carry it to New Hampshire, taking at the same time a personal note from Ethan, addressed to the 'Honorable Meshech Weare Esqr.' He intimated that the union had been brought about by the influence of 'designing men,' but was now entirely 'desolved.' He announced that he had always

regarded it as incompatible with New Hampshire's rights, and had punctually discharged his obligation to Bartlett by causing its dissolution. He added that he hoped New Hampshire would excuse the imbecility of Vermont, that he apprehended Payne had a principal influence in it, and that it was with difficulty that the Assembly got rid of him. Finally, he informed Meshech that he had been appointed by the Assembly as Vermont's agent at Congress, and that he expected New Hampshire to accede to Vermont's 'Independency' now that the obstacles had been removed. And then, he might have said to Ira as he laid down his quill, the last trick will have been played.

Ira crossed the river and started for Exeter at once, but Ethan was detained in Windsor for a few days longer. With a number of associates, he had petitioned the Assembly for a grant of a tract of land in the northern part of the State, contiguous to Lake Memphremagog, large enough so that each of the six hundred proprietors might be allotted the customary three hundred sixty acres.

Ethan was placed on a committee of six to name the remaining proprietors. It had occurred to him that grantees of Vermont land would want the State recognized by Congress, and that if some proprietorships could be distributed among the right people — Congressmen, for example — it might help the Vermont movement a great deal. So it appears that when Ethan set out for Philadelphia on the 12th of November, he took with him a saddle-bag full of blank deeds for proprietary interests in the Memphremagog Grant. They probably did not state on their faces that the land which they represented lay within the British lines.

Ethan had reached Philadelphia by November 26. That night he dined with Dr. Samuel Holten. His friend Henry Laurens was there with his son. Several army officers were also present: Baron Steuben, General Reed, Colonel Frost, Colonel Lee, Dr. Scuder, and a Mr. Hudson. Ethan, the pioneer boy, the outlaw, the captive, was dining with the highest civil and military officials. But he was too much concerned with taking his trick to meditate on the wonders of American Democracy. He probably had Memphremagog proprietorships in his pocket.

Ethan delivered the minutes of the last Assembly, indicating the dissolution of the union, to Laurens, who submitted them to Congress, which determined to take up the Vermont question as soon as convenient. Ethan then spent some time sounding Congressmen and spreading propaganda amongst them. His friend Josiah Bartlett had been replaced by William Whipple, who informed Ethan that he had instructions not to assert New Hampshire's claim to the westward of the Connecticut River. In return Ethan promised to use his influence to prevent any further trouble to New Hampshire from the recalcitrant towns.

The force of Ethan's report was somewhat weakened by the arrival of John Wheelock, representing these very towns. Ethan had magnanimously given them back to New Hampshire, swapped them for a promise to help get Vermont into the Confederacy, but Wheelock pointed out that Ethan had no authority to do so and that the towns still persisted in their revolt from New Hampshire. If Vermont wouldn't have them, they would declare independence of everybody. When this happened, the New York delegates laughed in their sleeves at Ethan and took steps to postpone ac-

tion on the Vermont question indefinitely. He was beginning to realize that he might be more important than God in Windsor, but in Philadelphia he was a small frog in a very big pool.

CHAPTER XXI

A DISPUTATIOUS CHAPTER

ETHAN left Philadelphia about the first of December. On the way home he saw a 'Courant' which contained a new proclamation signed by Governor Clinton. In effect, it announced that if the people of the Grants would acknowledge allegiance to New York its Government would be willing to submit land controversies to a commission appointed by Congress.

Just before Ethan read this, he had been pretty badly tripped up by the delegate from the sixteen towns. There may have been some moment in his life when he countenanced compromise, but this was emphatically not it. Assuming his rôle of Public Relations Counsel, he produced a reply which tore Clinton's sails to shreds with lusty phrases, calling his proposal 'rather childish than manlike,' 'an overture which contains nothing,' and mentioning that the New York 'malcontents' coveted the good land, 'but not mountains and useless morasses,' and were 'deaf to reason and argument, except it be those of a corporeal nature.'

Ethan started to take his manuscript to Hartford, but, on reaching Sharon, he changed his mind, and sent it by Mr. Auldin, the 'post,' with a note for Watson and Goodwin explaining that he would like them to insert the article in the 'Courant,' after correcting the spelling and making 'proper stops.' He asked them to send him eight dozen copies by the post to Arlington and promised that Samuel Elmore (the one-time Commodore of Lake Champlain) would bring them the

cash 'as well for inserting the answer as for the eight dozen papers extraordinary.'

Not long after this, the proclamation and Ethan's reply were brought to the attention of Andrew Elliot, a confidential agent in New York, who informed his principal, the Earl of Carlisle:

It plainly appears that Governor Allen and his new province of Vermont are resolved to come to no terms but support their own independence, it is also plain that one of the principal views and fixed resolves of Governor Clinton's Assembly is to oblige Allen to submit. His plan is just suitable to the times and perfectly conformable to the wish and desire of the Connecticut and New Hampshire people who want lands; his situation is such that all adventurers from these two populous colonies can easily join him and as easily find support from their friends so that it is evident that unless the Continental Army are employed in this matter, Allen will be superior to Clinton and of course extend his views. If Congress interferes with their army it will make Connecticut and New Hampshire fall from the Continental Association.

Even if Andrew's grammar was not wholly watertight, his judgment was profound, and that, after all, is why the Earl employed him.

There were other matters which brought Ethan to the vicinity of Sharon. His brother Levi lived in Dutchess County, not far away. Levi was not a member of the Onion River Company: he was the sort of person who is always laughing at life, laughing at himself. He could not take even his brothers, the shrewd Ira, the impressive Ethan, seriously enough to lend them any part of his independence. But he did buy some Vermont land in partnership with them. As usual, however, he changed his mind and decided to let them have his lands upon making certain payments.

But some confusion developed over the terms of these payments, caused, very likely, by the fact that the value of Continental currency had diminished to one fifth of its face value in less than two years. Levi refused to deliver title at the appointed time, whereupon Ethan applied to the Vermont Court of Confiscation (which he had served so successfully earlier in the year) on the grounds that Levi was a Tory and had been detected in endeavoring to supply the enemy and in circulating counterfeit Continental currency.

The Court was satisfied with the justice of Ethan's complaint and his neighbor, John Fassett, Jr., the Commissioner of Sequestration, seized all of Levi's property in the State, and advertised in the 'Courant' for Levi to appear at court in Arlington, the second Thursday in March, if he wanted to get it back.

Levi happened to be on his way to Virginia when he saw this announcement, but he started home immediately. Before reaching Connecticut, he had found time to write a letter for the 'Courant,' explaining his side of the case. He did not fail to mention his efforts to help Ethan while a prisoner at Halifax and on Long Island, in view of which he regarded it as ungrateful and unnatural for his brother to brand him as a Tory and confiscate his property.

Furthermore, on the day appointed, Levi appeared at Arlington, but neither court nor commissioner appeared to give him a trial. Some time after this a friend told Ethan he had seen Levi. 'Seen Levi?' Ethan replied. 'Well, how was he? Damn his luke-warm soul!'

The remark was repeated to Levi, who thereupon challenged Ethan to a duel, but he refused to fight, saying it would be disgraceful to fight a Tory. Levi

commented: 'I have no doubt he would have fought me, but all his friends jointly put in their arguments that Levi was only mad.'

Finally a poem appeared which a good many people attributed to Levi. It is called 'The Three Brothers,' and reads:

Ethan.

Old Ethan once said over a full bowl of grog
Though I believe not in Jesus, I hold to a God,
There is also a devil — you will see him one day
In a whirlwind of fire take Levi away.

Ira.

Says Ira to Ethan it plain doth appear,
That you are inclined to banter and jeer,
I think for myself and I freely declare
Our Levi's too stout for the prince of the air.
If ever you see them engaged in affray,
'Tis our Levi who'll take the devil away.

Levi.

Says Levi, your speeches make it perfectly clear,
That you hath been inclined to banter and jeer,
Though through all the world my home stands enrolled
For tricks, sly and crafty, ingenious and bold
There is one consolation which none can deny
That there's one greater rogue in this world than I.

Ethan & Ira.

'Who's that?' They both cry with equal surprise.

Levi.

'Tis Ira, 'tis Ira, I yield him the prize.

Though the litigation dragged on for several years and Ethan finally compelled Levi to deed to him twenty-four rights in St. Albans, the two brothers were afterwards good friends and later partners in business.

Levi had a reputation for being a practical joker, and he may not have meant everything he put into the 'Courant' to be taken seriously. He knew he would get a rise out of his older brother when he wrote that he had no support for his statements, 'except what the study of philosophy hath enabled him to furnish.' And Ethan may have been tickling Levi's pet aversion when he called him a Tory. It is always difficult to judge a family dispute from the fragments which appear in public print: families are apt to keep the important things to themselves.

CHAPTER XXII

'FOR FORMS OF GOVERNMENT LET FOOLS CONTEST'

It has sometimes been observed that a country squire who visits the city and is there disregarded, if not disdained, will, on returning to his seat, resume his little powers with added severity as though that helped him in some transcendental way to get even with the city snobs.

Having ordered John Fassett to sequester Levi's land, Ethan turned from this trivial broil to the affairs of state. Ira had prepared a pamphlet ('A Vindication of the Conduct of the General Assembly'), to which his brother subjoined a three-page letter addressed to the 'Inhabitants' of Vermont, a chatty, intimate little monograph from Cæsar to the people, explaining to them as much as he wanted them to know about the last trip to Philadelphia, with a couple of paragraphs of general reflections, such as:

When I consider the infant settlement of this country, the oppressive hand of New York, which has ever been stretched out against it, its frontier situation in the present revolution, and barbarous war with Great Britain, and the magnanimity, fortitude and perseverance with which the militia (alias) Green Mountain Boys, have withstood the several conflicts maintained their ground vindicated their liberty, triumphed over their enemies, foreign and domestic, and baffled all their machinations shining with superior lustre both in arms, freedom of constitution and government; and above all, in the righteousness of their cause. I cannot reflect on the mighty scene without amazement, and acknowledging the propitious agency of Deity.

Now, 'the propitious agency of Deity' is just what Ethan had refused to acknowledge three months earlier at Windsor. But during that time he had been let down by Congress and tripped up by the delegate from the sixteen towns. At the moment, Vermont's outlook was just a trifle desperate. If the people wanted God, let them have Him, if only they would back up Cæsar on the important things.

Ethan wrote this letter in Arlington, completing it on the 9th of January, 1779. At the same time Ira was finishing up his 'Vindication.' Chittenden, Jonas Fay, John Fassett, Jr., and Matthew Lyon may have come to look over the work or listen to it read aloud by John Knickerbocker. Perhaps they suggested to Ethan that under the circumstances it would be as well to ease up on God just a little bit. In all events, the pamphlet was dispatched to Alden Spooner (a printer who had set up a press in Dresden, just across the river in one of the troublesome towns), and a few days later they all rode down to Bennington where the Assembly was to convene.

Ethan attended the meetings at Colonel Brush's house and undoubtedly put in a word on many occasions. He seems to have had all the advantages of an office-holder without the embarrassment of the oath or the danger of a hostile vote: in short, he was the lobby.

The very first thing, the Assembly officially renounced the union with the sixteen towns. It then listened to Ethan's report of his trip to Philadelphia and, at his suggestion, resolved to appoint a committee of three to manage Vermont's affairs at Congress, choosing for this purpose himself, Jonas Fay, and Paul Spooner. This was the young republic's first diplo-

matic corps. On top of that accomplishment, the Assembly created in less than a fortnight an entire code of laws based mainly on the Connecticut Code, which in turn took its morality from Leviticus. There were nine capital offenses including 'bearing false witness' and 'blasphemy.' Adulterers were to receive thirty-nine lashes, to be branded with the letter 'A' on the forehead, and compelled to wear it sewed on the back of their outside garment; each town was given a brand for its horses (Arlington's was, of course, 'A'), business and recreation were prohibited on Sundays, a closed season was put on deer, and canoe-stealing was punishable with a heavy fine.

Ethan did not have much to say about the civil code, but he attended the meetings, sitting, perhaps, quietly in the back of the room with a land petition in his pocket. When opportunity offered he presented it, asking for the grant of a tract covering eight townships (forty-eight square miles) lying north of Onion River.

The petition is in Ethan's hand. Including his own, there were sixteen names on the petition, three of them Vermonters, the rest members of Congress and officers of the Continental Army: Horatio Gates, Roger Sherman, James Lovel, Oliver Wolcott, etc. Each was to receive half a township or three square miles of land. Lovel had been a prisoner with Ethan, Gates, a traveling companion; the rest he had met at Philadelphia. Their apparent consent to receive Vermont land is one more exhibit of Ethan's faculty of salesmanship, besides being a first-rate bit of diplomacy. Would Gates, owning half a township of Vermont land, be willing to lead a Continental army to crush the cocky little republic? Would Randolph or Sherman vote for such a move in Congress? Washington at once per-

ceived the significance of Ethan's tactics and did what he could to combat them: he was beginning to appreciate the real meaning of that 'original something' he had noticed once before. No wonder Vermont picked Ethan for its diplomatic corps.

With his petition in the hands of the Assembly, Ethan returned to the desk (there must have been a grand desk at Landlord Fay's) and wrote a note to Meshech Weare, announcing that 'the union which Impolitically was for a Time adhered to by a Majority of this State' had been 'in the fullest and most explicit manner desolved.' He called its promulgators 'a Petulant, Pettefoging, Scribling sort of Gentry, that will keep any Government in hot water.'

These very persons had, by the way, just published a pamphlet which contained, *verbatim*, Ethan's statements concerning the deal with the New Hampshire delegates. No printable word could have expressed his feeling for Elisha Payne, Jacob Bayley, and Bezael Woodward when he saw it. Even now, his relations with them were not nearly ended. There is something mysterious about the way the sixteen towns tagged along at Vermont's skirts, drawing attention, by their yapping, to her very fragile legs.

Ira took the letter to Exeter. The Council had appointed Ethan to go to Valley Forge to consult Washington about defending the frontier, but, for some reason, Joseph Fay (he was Jonas's brother and had just been appointed secretary of the Council) went in Ethan's place, taking a letter from him to Washington, which reads:

The fifth campaign drawing near towards opening, and Lake Champlain (from the last intelligence) being broke up, and the enemy's ships of force and scouting parties

every day expected down the Lake, which may annoy and massacre the frontier inhabitants, has given rise to great uneasiness, as the frontier is but weakly guarded and widely extended, which has induced the Governor of this infant State, with the advice of his Council and House of Assembly, to lay before your Excellency the true circumstances of the Inhabitants.

From the facts your Excellency will be able, with equal justice, to adjust matters in this part of the northern department, and grant such relief as shall be adequate to their necessitous condition.

Undoubtedly your Excellency will readily conceive that this part of the Country have done more than their adequate proportion in the war, and though they are greatly reduced as to materials to maintain standing forces, yet on sudden emergencies the Militia is able and willing to face any equal number of the enemy, provided they should have no other reward but the satisfaction of defeating them. As to any further information I refer your Excellency to Joseph Fay Esqr. the Bearer whose representation may be relied on, and whose Zeal for his Country hath been very Conspicuous on all occasions, Especially in the Important Battle of Bennington.

The battle of Bennington, important as it was, is not the reason why Ethan sent a substitute to Valley Forge. He may have heard that Washington was annoyed with him for getting Continental officers mixed up in Vermont land speculations, but, more probably, Ira, Jonas, Thomas Chittenden, and the rest of the little group which managed Vermont wanted the moral force of his presence during the expected British invasion. So, while they moved up to Chittenden's house in Arlington, called themselves the Board of War, and tried to figure out how they were going to get the farmers to give up plowing for fighting, Ethar. devoted the next few weeks to writing a vivid account of his captivity and sufferings. It was completed by

A
NARRATIVE

O F

COLONEL ETHAN ALLEN'S

CAPTIVITY,

From the Time of his being taken by the British, near Montreal, on the 25th Day of September, in the Year 1775, to the Time of his Exchange, on the 6th Day of May, 1778:

CONTAINING,

HIS VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

With the most remarkable Occurrences respecting his Life, and many other Continental Prisoners of different Ranks and Characters, which fell under his Observation, in the Course of the same; particularly the Destruction of the Prisoners at New York, by General Sir William Howe, in the Years 1776 and 1777.

Interpersed with some POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS.

Written by himself, and now published for the Information of the Curious in all Nations.—Price Ten Paper Dollars.

When God from Chaos gave this World to BE,

Man then he form'd, and so m'd him TO BE FREE.

America's Independence, a Poem, by FRENEAU.

P H I L A D E L P H I A :

PRINTED AND SOLD BY ROBERT BELL, IN THIRD STREET.

M. DCC. LXXIX.

THE TITLE-PAGE OF 'A NARRATIVE OF COLONEL ETHAN ALLEN'S CAPTIVITY'

the 25th of March, when he sent it to the editors of the 'Pennsylvania Packet' at Philadelphia. In the preface he begged the reader to excuse any inaccuracies in his performance, 'as the author has unfortunately missed of a liberal education.'

If Fortune, by causing his father's death at a crucial time, withheld from Ethan some of the intricacies of English grammar, she furnished in their place an astonishing intuition of the simplicities of the American people. The 'Narrative,' published first as a serial in the 'Pennsylvania Packet,' then as a book, affected them as all other revelations of marvelous adventures, emotional catastrophes, brutalities, sufferings, murders, scandals, and atrocities have done. There were eight editions within the first two years. Appearing at a time when patriotism for a loose federation of debt-burdened States was low and interest in shooting at mercenaries almost extinct, its racy, bombastic, fascinating descriptions of fighting, suffering, boasting, and cursing revived the languishing idol 'Liberty' and helped enormously the efforts of the revolutionary leaders to enlist men to rid the land of Tories. The funny part of it all is that by the time this had happened Ethan was wondering if, after all, these revolutionists were not more dangerous to his State and his land company than the Tories. However, political considerations could not deprive him of the satisfaction of his artistic success. Besides, he must have received quite a comfortable amount of cash from the sales of the book.

On seeing an installment of the 'Narrative,' the Reverend Mr. Belknap, of Dover, wrote to his friend Hazard:

I wish I could see the whole. From what I have read, and from a short casual interview which I had with him

at Boston, I think him an original in his way, but as rough and boisterous as the scenes he has passed through.

Hazard replied:

Allen is really an original; at least I never met with a genius like him. Had his natural talents been cultivated by a liberal education, he would have made no bad figure among the sons of science; but perhaps his want of such an education is not to be lamented, as, unless he had more grace it would make him a dangerous member of society.

CHAPTER XXIII

'WHATE'ER IS BEST ADMINISTERED IS BEST'

THE 3d of May was the anniversary of Ethan's exchange. On that day, as his neighbors afterwards remembered, he dressed in his silk suit (either the green one or the blue one) and did no work, but visited his friends, who were constrained to lay off their work, too, and enjoy themselves with him. The day was such a success that he decided to make it an annual event, devoted to the memory of the kindness of the Gentlemen of Cork and to telling his favorite stories and drinking toasts to young Vermont. There was but one thing more he wanted, a chance to fight for her. As it happened, before he had time to recover from his holiday, an opportunity arose.

General James Clinton had asked the Vermont Board of War for a levy of troops to protect the frontier. In complying, the Vermonters drafted with marked partiality men whose sympathies were inclined toward New York. Having no greater zest for service than their neighbors, they resisted the draft on the grounds that they did not recognize the authority of Vermont, anyway.

According to Vermont law (it had been established two months), if a drafted man did not either serve, procure a substitute, or pay a certain fee, his property was liable to be confiscated. When three citizens of Putney did none of these, Sergeant McWain, the draft officer, seized cows belonging to two of them and announced that they would be disposed of at public vendue upon a given day.

At the appointed time a band of Yorkers appeared on the scene, seized the two bewildered cows, and returned them to their former owners, while the sergeant hurried off across the mountains to report to the Council at Arlington that there was treason in Putney. As it happened, the Vermonters had been waiting for just such an opportunity. The Governor at once commissioned Ethan to engage a hundred able-bodied effective volunteers, march them across the mountains, avenge the insult to the sovereignty of Vermont, and regain the two cows.

It is said that Ethan jumped on his horse and galloped through the land inviting his old Green Mountain Boys to join him in their favorite pastime — chastising Yorkers, and that, dropping their plows and harrows, they followed him eagerly across the mountains. They arrested thirty-six prominent Yorkers (eighteen men for each cow) and locked them up in the jail at Westminster. One of their friends immediately informed Governor Clinton:

Colonel Allin treated the people here with the most insulting language assaulted and wounded several persons with his sword without the least provocation, and bids defiance to the State of New York, declares they will establish their State by the sword and fight all who shall attempt to oppose them.

He begged the Governor to send aid, for,

otherwise our Persons and Property must be at the disposal of Ethan Allin which is more to be dreaded than Death with all its Terrors.

(How it would have tickled Ethan to see that!) Another of the prisoners sent word:

Colo. Allen repeatedly observed in public that apprehending and trying us, was not done with a view of dis-

tressing individuals, but was intended as a Challenge to the government of New York to turn out and protect their subjects; and more than once expressed his Desire that such word might be conveyed to your Excellency. He said they had been some time preparing, were now in readiness to receive you, and wished for the matter to be brought to that Decision.

The Vermont Superior Court met at Westminster soon afterwards and the refractory Yorkers were brought to trial. Moses Robinson, the Chief Judge, appointed Noah Smith State's Attorney to conduct the prosecution, and Stephen Bradley to represent the prisoners, who were arraigned for conspiring and participating in the abduction of Sergeant McWain's two cows.

Everything proceeded satisfactorily until the second day of the trial when Smith entered a *nolle prosequi* for three of the defendants whose alibis were hole-proof. Bradley then presented a motion to quash the indictments preferred against three more who were minors. Smith looked up the point in his copy of Blackstone's Commentaries and on this authority conceded the justice of the motion. Thereupon the proceedings were suddenly interrupted by a commotion in the back of the room, caused by Ethan, who was standing in the doorway, waving his cocked hat to command silence. He was dressed in full military regalia with a sword of fabulous dimensions swinging at his side. After a moment of eloquent silence, he approached the bar and spoke, first warning the jury that in his observations he should not deal in quibbles. Then, turning to Smith, he said:

I would have the young gentleman to know that, with my logic and reasoning from the eternal fitness of things, I

can upset his Blackstones, his whitestones, his gravestones and his brimstones.

Recovering from his astonishment, the Chief Judge informed Ethan that the court would gladly listen to his remarks as a private citizen, but could not allow him to address it either in military attire or as a military man. Ethan nodded, threw his hat on a table, unbuckled his sword, and, laying it down with a flourish, exclaimed:

For forms of government, let fools contest;
Whate'er is best administered is best.

Noticing that the judges appeared flabbergasted, he added an apology to Pope's couplet:

I said that *fools* might contest for forms of government,
not your Honours, not your Honours!

And after waiting for silence, he resumed:

Fifty miles I have come through the woods with my brave men, to support the civil with the military arm; to quell any disturbances should they arise; and to aid the sheriff and the court in prosecuting these Yorkers — the enemies of our noble state. I see however that some of them by the quirks of this artful lawyer, Bradley, are escaping from the punishment they so richly deserve, and I find also that this little Noah Smith is far from understanding his business, since he at one time moves for a prosecution and in the next wishes to withdraw it. Let me warn your Honour to be on your guard lest these delinquents should slip through your fingers.

He reached for his hat, buckled on his sword, and walked down the aisle and out of the house in silence. The tight wire of suspense must have broken almost resoundingly when the door slammed to. The trial proceeded, thirty of the prisoners were convicted and

financed amounts ranging from two to forty pounds. In addition, the cost of prosecution, amounting to nearly fifteen hundred pounds, was divided equally among them. On the whole, Sergeant McWain's two cows were amply avenged.

Ethan did not return across the mountains, but rode north along the river to Windsor, where the Assembly convened on June 2. His friends listened eagerly to his account of the forced march, the round-up of wicked Yorkers, and the trial. Delighted, they voted forty-eight shillings a day to each of the men who had taken part in the expedition and elected its leader Brigadier-General of the Vermont Militia. Furthermore, feeling that the Yorkers were sufficiently rebuked, Chittenden issued a proclamation pardoning every convict in the State except those guilty of capital offenses (and there were none of these). But this clemency was qualified by a statute, passed the same day, whereby any person who claimed to act as a public officer within the State under any authority except that of Vermont or the Continental Congress might be flogged on the naked back, have his right ear cut off and nailed to a post, and be branded on the forehead with the capital letter 'C' (the horses of Clarendon were also branded with a 'C').

At the same time that Ethan was elected Brigadier-General of the Militia, his brother Ira was appointed Surveyor-General. He was also State Treasurer and a member of the Council, but Ethan still held no civil office. He attended the legislative sessions at the 'desire' of the Governor and Council, and his expenses while so doing were repaid, as well as over four hundred pounds spent on salaries and supplies for his expeditionary force. The men who accompanied him were

nearly all his old friends, men who had followed him when his authority rested on nothing but energy and nerve. He liked them to feel that they could count on him, could bring their troubles to him and find help. When a certain William Stewart became involved in a lawsuit respecting the title of his gun, Ethan sent him to Stephen Bradley, the lawyer, with a letter, introducing him as

one of the old Green Mountain Core . . . as he is a poor man I desire you will plead his case and charge it to me, my warriors must not be cheated out of their fire arms.

Bradley acted accordingly, won the case, regained the gun, and sent the bill (two pounds ten shillings) to Ethan, who had made another friend for life.

This, however, was not the only consequence of the abduction of Sergeant McWain's two cows. While they chewed the sweet June grass at Putney and Ethan at Windsor boasted that two thirds of the members of Congress favored Vermont's independence, the frustrated Yorkers, fresh from the Westminster jail, pleaded with their champion, Governor Clinton, who, in turn, complained to Congress, which finally appointed a committee to investigate the situation. Its instructions, in the first instance, were to inquire into the

conduct of Colonel Ethan Allen, now in the pay of the United States, concerning the charge exhibited against him by Governor Clinton.

But for some reason this was changed to

matters and things contained in the letters of Governor Clinton,

and, in the Congressional Journal, a line was drawn through the first instructions, a line which can only be

accounted for by the desire of certain Congressmen to refrain from hurting Ethan's feelings. It is very difficult to understand their attitude toward him and toward Vermont. The unrecognized State was like an illegitimate child. Her half-sisters 'cut' her openly, but they had to be nice to her in private because of what they wanted her to do for them. They needed her protection from the British army in Canada, but refused to let her call herself a member of their family.

Late in June, Dr. Witherspoon and Colonel Atlee, of the Congressional Committee, reached Bennington, where they were politely received by Governor Chittenden, who informed them that the people of Vermont would as soon be under the jurisdiction of Great Britain as of New York, and also that

Colo. Allen proceeded into Cumberland county under direction of the Civil Authority of this State to assist the Sheriff in the Execution of his office in apprehending a certain Number of Persons for the Purpose of bringing them before the superior Courts of this State for Trial for riotously impeding a certain officer in the Execution of his Office in selling Estate taken by said officer according to Law from Persons who refused to do their tour of Militia Duty in Guarding the Frontiers of this and the United States of America against the Common Enemy agreeable to Orders of the Board of War of this State issued in pursuance of advice received from Brigr. General Clinton for that Purpose.

While at Bennington the Governor was entertaining the two committeemen with impossible sentences, Ethan and Jonas Fay were hurrying toward Philadelphia to tell Congress what had happened, before it had a chance to find out for itself. When Governor Clinton heard that they were passing through New York, it was all he could do to refrain from having

them arrested. In truth, it took colossal bravado for Ethan to appear before Congress at a moment when it was investigating his conduct and when several of its members were trying to have him courtmartialed. Instead of being frightened, what probably occurred to him was that he could laugh at their brevet commission, now that he was a brigadier-general in Vermont.

The two delegates were admitted to the halls of Congress on the 3d of July. They placed before it copies of all the documents relating to the cow business, Ethan's orders from the Governor, the proceedings of the court at Westminster and Chittenden's proclamation of pardon — as well as a copy of the Vermont laws, and a long letter, written at Philadelphia a couple of days before and signed by Ethan and Jonas jointly, explaining:

We ever have been and still are willing that every part of the conduct of the people we represent (so far as relates to the measures which have been come into for establishing the State of Vermont) should at any convenient time be fully laid before the Grand Council of America together with the solicitation of our constituents for a union with the other free and independent States of America; . . . confidently relying (in the meantime) that whenever such opportunity shall present we shall have reasonable notice to prepare and lay in our defence.

The tone of this letter is noticeably different from Ethan's earlier communications to Congress. Perhaps the brigadier-generalship had made him a trifle cocky, perhaps he was beginning to understand the real situation at Philadelphia, or perhaps he had some other card up his sleeve. Unfortunately, the effect of his bravado was once again undermined by the trouble-

some sixteen towns. Elisha Payne and his associates picked just this moment to send a memorial to Congress arguing that if there was to be an independent State, it should include all the so-called New Hampshire Grants on both sides of the river. Convinced that Vermont was tottering, Congress recommended that Vermont, New York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts alike refrain from exercising jurisdiction over any unwilling subjects, and suspend the granting of unappropriated lands or selling confiscated estates on the New Hampshire Grants until Congress should decide the controversy. With that the delegates turned to other matters, the thirteen States proceeded about their business and calmly ignored their illegitimate half-sister until her misbehavior had forced their attention back again.

CHAPTER XXIV

ETHAN CALLS A BLUFF

REACHING home before the end of July, Jonas almost immediately started back to Philadelphia again, to look after Vermont affairs there. But this time he was accompanied by Paul Spooner, instead of Ethan, who remained at Arlington to write another pamphlet. Its title, 'A Vindication of the Opposition of the Inhabitants of Vermont to the Government of New-York and of their Right to form into an Independent State, etc.' indicates its contents. Ingeniously combining documents with poetry, it was by far the most thorough and effective pamphlet Ethan's pen had yet produced. When printed, Ira distributed copies to the Assemblies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. It is significant that in a canvass of the States made soon afterwards by James Madison, he found all four of these favorable to the Vermont movement.

At the same time Ethan was busy with the duties of his new job, Brigadier-General of the Militia. Perhaps as he rode through the blue-green valleys hurrying north to find out what was frightening the inhabitants of Rutland or to order the grain destroyed along the shores of Lake Champlain, he concocted the metaphors and similes which so thoroughly undermined the legalistic reasoning of the New York leaders. Riding, writing, issuing commands, advising the Governor and Council, 'settling' discontent among the people, and occasionally visiting Mary and the girls, Ethan lived, worked, and enjoyed himself, Vermont survived, and the summer quickly disappeared.

A
VINDICATION

OF THE OPPOSITION OF THE INHABITANTS

OF
VERMONT

TO THE GOVERNMENT OF

NEW-YORK,

AND OF THEIR RIGHT TO FORM INTO AN INDEPENDENT

S T A T E.

Humbly submitted to the Consideration of the impartial
WORLD.

By J. T. ALLEN.

PRINTED BY ALDEN SPOONER, 1779.
Printer to the State of Vermont.

On Freeman's Meeting Day, this year, the people of Arlington heeded their famous townsman and did not elect him to the Assembly. John Fassett, Jr., was re-elected and Matthew Lyon (who had been disqualified a year before) was elected in Ethan's place. But when, in October, the Assembly convened at Manchester, he attended at the 'desire' of the Governor and Council, and proceeded, very evidently, to run the show. A year before he had been permitted to serve the Assembly without taking oath: now he was desired to serve it without having even been elected.

Happening to be at Landlord Fay's just before starting for Manchester and being, perhaps, in an expansive mood, he deeded four hundred acres in Williston to his namesake Ethan Allen Fay, one of Jonas's twins. It is not far-fetched to assume that the friends, Ethan and Jonas, rode north to Manchester through the gay autumn woods together. Perhaps Ira and the Governor joined them at Arlington and the four traveled in company to face the severest crisis which their protégée, Vermont, had yet endured.

A messenger had brought copies of the resolutions of Congress commanding that Vermont refrain from exercising jurisdiction over unwilling subjects or granting unappropriated lands until after the 1st of February, when the controversy would be considered and settled by Congress. So great was the influence of Congress that nine tenths of the Vermont Assemblymen were willing to accept its decree — not realizing that if they obeyed in this matter they would be bound to do so if, through the influence of New York, Congress decided to annihilate their State. To counteract the pernicious affability of the Assemblymen, Ethan had himself appointed one of a committee of the As-

sembly who were to join a committee of the Council to outline a plan of defense against the neighboring States in consequence of the acts of Congress. The situation was too critical to bother with such trifles as the fact that he was not an elected member of the Legislature. Five days later a committee of the whole, which included the Governor, Council, Assembly, Ethan, and even a few others, meeting behind closed doors, voted to support Vermont's right of independence before Congress and the world, and also to make grants of the unappropriated land in the State. To carry out the second part of this plan, Ethan and two others were appointed a committee to see what land petitions could be granted at this session. Among those favorably recommended and consequently granted was the petition of Ethan, Jonas, Sam Herrick, and three hundred sixty-five associates for the islands in Lake Champlain named the 'Two Heroes,' in honor of their grantees, Ethan and Sam Herrick. The grantees agreed to pay ten thousand pounds by the middle of December and to commence settlement within three years of the conclusion of the war or of the time when the Province of Quebec should be united with the other independent States of America.

Ethan and four others were appointed to represent Vermont before Congress on the 1st of February. Meanwhile, Ethan was to go to Boston, and Ira to the Southern States, to work up as much Vermont sentiment as possible in the intervening time by distributing copies of the 'Vindication' and (when favorable opportunities offered) proprietorships in Vermont land grants. Having accomplished what he came for, in the face of the influence of Congress and the complaisance of the Assemblymen, Ethan left Manchester at once.

A
CONCISE REFUTATION
OF THE
C L A I M S
OF
New-Hampshire and Massachusetts-Bay,
TO THE TERRITORY OF
V E R M O N T ;

WITH
Occasional R E M A R K S on the long disputed
Claim of New York to the same.

WRITTEN BY
Ethan Allen and Jonas Fay, Esq'rs.
And published by Order of the GOVERNOR and
COUNCIL of VERMONT

BENNINGTON, the first Day of *January*, 1780.

JOSEPH FAY, Sec'ry.

H A R T F O R D :
PRINTED BY HUDSON AND GOODWIN.

At Boston he explained to the General Court of Massachusetts Bay why Vermont wanted and deserved to be a separate State, and asked Massachusetts not to oppose it and to renounce her claims to Vermont territory at the hearing before Congress. It really appears that Massachusetts might have done so had not Charles Phelps, of Marlboro, happened to be in town. An aggressive Yorker, who disliked Ethan about as much as Jacob Bayley and Elisha Payne did, he took prompt measures to counteract and contradict everything Ethan had said, pointing out that there was a large number of people living in the disputed district who did not approve the State idea at all. Ethan was so infuriated that he threatened to kill Phelps the next time he saw him, but before this occurred Phelps had hurried back to Marlboro to write Governor Clinton all about it.

Ethan was not discouraged by this little mishap. Soon afterwards he and Jonas together wrote a pamphlet which they aptly entitled 'A Concise Refutation of the Claims of New-Hampshire and Massachusetts-Bay, to the Territory of Vermont; with Occasional Remarks on the long disputed Claim of New York to the same.' It was published by order of the Governor and Council, who, the authors admitted, were 'astonished' at the 'extraordinary claims' of Massachusetts and New Hampshire to Vermont territory, which, as it was easy to show by an elaborate array of documents, were as ephemeral as those of New York. Then, with the documents and arguments (so to speak) off their chests, the collaborators called for a draft of Jonas's father's best brew and concluded:

whereas this State held their charter of liberty from Heaven and not 'of man or the will of man' (they) have

upon a full and candid consideration determined not to submit HEAVEN BORN FREEDOM to the arbitrament of any tribunal below the stars, which through infirmity might deprive them of it. But as they have closely embraced it in the most critical and hazardous times, are determined to hold it fast, except it be torn from them by the hand of power; which resolution we trust will be justified by the Court of Heaven, and commended by all true friends to the liberty and happiness of mankind.

Ethan when he wrote those lines, Jonas when he signed his name to the script, and the Council when accepting it appreciated that by so doing they were virtually declaring war on New York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. It is all very well to give the credit for the existence of the State of Vermont to this one or that one, but no one except Ethan had the courage (foolhardiness if you prefer) to call the bluff of the Continental Congress. Of course, no one else, except his brother Ira, had nearly so much at stake. The upshot was that the Continental Congress (an invertebrate whose ephemeral powers were restricted to combating British tyranny and establishing the independence of the jealous States) allowed the 1st of February to go by without settling, without even mentioning, the Vermont question, thereby discarding the only opportunity it ever had of prevailing upon its unwanted child to jump into the river. Ethan did not even bother to be on hand, but went to Connecticut instead to see about buying powder — and other things.

CHAPTER XXV

THE PERFECT ALIBI

THE King had found that in dealing with Parliament it was simpler to buy the Opposition than to try to convince it. Money, he had learned, speaks louder than words. So when Burgoyne surrendered, His Majesty suggested to his Colonial Secretary, Lord George Germain, that perhaps good English practice would be effective in America. Obviously, fighting was not getting them anywhere.

Sir Henry Clinton was accordingly instructed to do what he could. He advertised in the Tory papers that he had authority to make peace with the Colonies at large or any of them separately. At the same time he set on foot investigations to find out just what was the price of the American Generals. He discovered that Washington was incorruptible, that Israel Putnam might be worth further investigation, that Benedict Arnold would cost ten thousand guineas and a major-general's commission, and that Ethan Allen was very angry with Congress. Clinton sent word to Germain that, in his opinion, Ethan might be tempted by promising him and his adherents the property of their lands and forming Vermont into a separate Government dependent on the Crown. This, Sir Henry pointed out, would not only attach 'the present riotous crew,' but would attract numbers from the rebel Colonies.

Consequently, in October, 1779, he wrote a letter to Ethan to feel him out. The messenger, however, becoming frightened on the way, returned to New York

without delivering the letter. In December, Sir Henry sent a second messenger, more dependable than the first.

In December, as the reader will recall, Ethan, having returned from Boston without convincing the Massachusetts Council or killing Charles Phelps, was at Bennington collaborating with Jonas on the 'Concise Refutation,' a pamphlet remarkable for its effrontery. Was Ethan's bravado due to the knowledge that if Congress let him down, Sir Henry would take him up? Vermont's position appeared more desperate than ever before, with a British invasion expected as soon as the ice broke up on Lake Champlain as well as the likelihood that Congress would order Continental troops to subdue its unruly offspring. Furthermore, when Governor Chittenden applied to Isaac Tichenor, the Continental Commissary in charge of the arsenal at Bennington, for arms for the militia, Tichenor refused to let anything leave the storehouse. Ethan hurried off to Connecticut to buy arms and powder, but it looked as though the game were up.

Ethan was back in Arlington by the 14th of February, having bought powder in Hartford, lead and flints in Boston. He had paid for a large part of the supplies with his personal note, which Ira redeemed for the State. A fortnight later, the Assembly met at Westminster, and as usual Ethan attended by the 'desire' of the Governor and Council, with expenses paid. The Vermonters retaliated on Tichenor by prohibiting the exportation of wheat, flour, pork, or any other provisions. Ethan served on a committee of the Assembly (of which he was not a member) to handle the matter of public land. At this session the Memphremagog tract was granted to him and his associates.

By now the ice was breaking up on the Lake and, as the frontiers were still unprotected, Ethan was appointed to fix the lines of defense. He posted Ebenezer Allen with four companies at Pittsford and Major Whitcomb, with several more, at Upper Coos on the Connecticut River. Fort Vengeance at Castleton was occupied by a lieutenant with nineteen privates and Skenesboro by Sergeant Towner with nine men. This formed a sort of dead line behind which the settlers retired. Ethan himself, with Brother Ira, bought a house in Sunderland, a few miles northeast of Arlington, and apparently moved there at once, so as to be in closer touch with his outposts. Besides the house there was a small frame building which they furnished as an office. Ira kept his Treasurer's accounts and the Onion River Company books there. Ethan used it for planning campaigns, writing pamphlets, and studying philosophy. For many years it was, in fact, the Capitol of Vermont. Making Sunderland his headquarters, Ethan rode about a good deal, keeping an eye on his defenses and on the movements of the British. From Castleton, early in the morning of the 26th of March, he sent a runner to Skenesboro, with a note for Elisha Towner,

to alarm the Inhabitants of Skenesboro' and the People Contiguous to Lake George that twenty Sleighs and Horses are gone down Lake George, with near or quite four hundred of the Enemy to destroy those inhabitants. I chuse not to tell you how I came by this Information, but you may rely on the Truth of the Matter, and Alarm the Inhabitants. The Green Mountain Boys are in Motion.

As Ethan informed Elisha, the Green Mountain Boys (a euphemism for Vermont Militia) were in

motion, marching for Ticonderoga. Apparently, on arriving, Ethan found that the British had abandoned their raid, so he marched his militiamen back to Castleton again. For this maneuver the State paid him fifty-seven pounds.

It is a pity that he did not 'chuse' to tell Elisha how he came to know the enemy's plans. He must have acquired his information from somebody who knew — that is, from a British officer. Why the British officer told him is a matter for conjecture. A number of Ethan's friends, such as Justus Sherwood, had remained loyal, received commissions, and were serving with the army at St. John's. Perhaps Ethan came on one of these scouting in the woods and they exchanged rum and confidences — perhaps something had been arranged beforehand.

This Justus Sherwood wrote to General Powell, later in the year:

I have long been acquainted with Mr. Allen and the most of the leading men in that country and am persuaded that they will accept almost any proposal rather than give up their possessions to the N. York Claimers.

I should be extremely happy to be in some measure instrumental in bringing those deluded people to their right senses and the allegiance they owe their Sovereign which I think may be done by buying their leaders.

And William Marsh, whose confiscated property Ethan had bought, notified General Haldimand:

I can propose a way to open a correspondence with their General Allen and their Governor Chittenden with safety as they are of my acquaintance.

But Haldimand wrote to Sir Henry Clinton in August:

I have taken much pains, by prisoners and intelligent Loyalists, to discover if anything might be effected with

Allen, and the people of Vermont — I am assured by all, that no dependence can be had in him — his character is well known, and his Followers, or dependents, are a collection of the most abandoned wretches that ever lived, to be bound by no Laws or Ties.

Ethan's activities, this spring, were singular. He seemed aware that many eyes were gazing at him, trying to figure him out. On the 2d of May, for instance, he suddenly departed from home, leaving word that he had gone to Connecticut to procure powder for the militia of his brigade. He returned on the 9th, but went off again, soon afterwards, to expedite the conveyance of the powder. This cannot have taken very long, for, on the 31st, according to a well-authenticated tradition, he was helping his neighbor, Eldad Taylor, hunt for his two little girls who were lost in the woods. After several days of fruitless searching, Eldad's friends collected together and decided to go home, whereupon Ethan jumped on a stump, and, pointing to grief-stricken Eldad and his sobbing wife, begged, with tears in his eyes, all those who were parents to join him in one more search. Before night the children, terrified and hungry, were found hiding under a large rock and restored to their parents whose gratitude was everlasting.

Eldad's infants must have been rescued by the 5th of June, for, on that day, Ethan was seen in Arlington. Hearing that Governor Clinton was making a tour of the north, he hurried down to Lake George and was there when the Governor arrived on the 9th. It would be most illuminating to know what they said to each other on this occasion, but no Boswell was on hand to take it down.

On the 16th, Ethan was back in Arlington attending

a meeting of the Council at Governor Chittenden's house. On the 26th, he reviewed and 'harrangued' a regiment of militia at Pownal, and on the 1st of July he did the same at Bennington, informing the militiamen that he had procured a quantity of powder for the use of his brigade which would be distributed to them in a few days. Finally, on the 11th, the powder arrived and he superintended its distribution.

Now, in spite of these regular appearances, a rumor got about that Ethan had been in New York, on the 2d of July, and had been received at headquarters by Sir Henry Clinton. It is a fortunate coincidence that, only the day before, he had reviewed a whole regiment (of potential witnesses) in Bennington, for any one will admit that it would be a physical impossibility to ride from Bennington to New York in twenty-four hours — that is, unless a relay of fresh horses had been posted along the way, which seems out of the question. Yet the rumor reached Washington, who immediately sent an express to Schuyler to have Ethan investigated. Accordingly, about the 20th of July, John Lansing and Peter Cuyler arrived in Bennington on this mission. Finding the people hostile to anybody who came from New York, they confided in Isaac Tichenor, the Continental Commissary who had refused to supply the Vermont militia with arms and powder. He admitted he was very far from being a friend of Ethan's, but put the investigators in touch with Sam Herrick, Joseph Farnsworth, Joseph Fay, and Tyrant Putnam, who supplied the information which established Ethan's alibi.

It is a curious coincidence that, at just this time, Ethan took to reviewing troops, which, as far as the evidence shows, he never did before or afterwards.

Again, it is interesting that the Eldad Taylor's-infants-story, unlike most traditions, is dated, and just when a date comes in handy. To sum up, the facts and the witnesses (regiments of them) are there: Ethan was not in New York on the 2d of July, 1780.

CHAPTER XXVI

A MAN IS HANGED

ALTHOUGH, in February, Congress ignored the Vermont problem, four months later, suddenly remembering, it declared that the people of the Grants were behaving in an unwarrantable manner, subversive of the peace and welfare of the United States; that they must forbear from any acts of authority, civil or military, over those professing allegiance to other States; and, finally, that the matter was to be settled, once for all, on the second Tuesday in September.

On receiving this news in July, Governor Chittenden invited the members of his Council to his house in Arlington to consider the matter. Ira attended as well as Joseph Fay, John Fassett, and two or three others. Ethan was perhaps on his way to the Governor's when he was accosted in the street of Arlington by a man dressed in farmer's working clothes with a letter in his hand. After glancing at the letter, Ethan sent the messenger away and hurried on to Chittenden's, where he laid it before the men assembled there. The letter, addressed to Ethan by Beverly Robinson, Colonel of the Royal Americans, reads:

I am now undertaking a task which I hope you will receive with the same good intentions that incline me to make it. I have often been informed that you and most of the inhabitants of Vermont are opposed to the wild and chimerical scheme of the Americans in attempting to separate the continent from Great Britain, and to establish an independent state of their own; and that you would willingly assist in uniting America again to Great Britain and restoring that happy constitution we have so wan-

tonly and unadvisedly destroyed. If I have been rightly informed and these should be your sentiments and inclinations, I beg you will communicate to me without reserve whatever proposals you would wish to make to the commander-in-chief, and I here promise that I will faithfully lay them before him according to your directions and flatter myself I can do it as good effect as any person whatever. I can make no proposals to you until I know your sentiments, but I think upon your taking an active part and embodying the inhabitants of Vermont in favor of the Crown of England, to act as the commander-in-chief shall direct, that you may obtain a separate government under the king and constitution of England, and the men formed into regiments under such officers as you shall recommend, and be on the same footing as all the provincial camps are here. I am an American myself, feel much for the distressed situation my poor country is in at present, and anxious to be serviceable toward restoring it to peace, and that mild and good government we have lost. I have therefore ventured to adress myself to you on this subject and hope you will see it in a proper light, and be as candid with me. I am inclinable to think that one reason why this unnatural war has continued so long, is that all the Americans who wish and think it would be for the interest of the country to have a constitutional and equitable connection with Great Britain, do not communicate their sentiments to each other so often and freely as they ought to do. In case you should disapprove of my hinting these things to you and do not choose to make any proposals to Government, I hope you will not suffer any insult to be offered to the bearer of this letter, but allow him to return in safety, as I can assure you he is entirely ignorant of its contents.

But if you should think it proper to send proposals to me to be laid before the commander-in-chief, I do now give you my word that if they are not accepted of or complied with by him, (of which I will inform you) the matter shall be buried in oblivion between us. I will only add that if you should think proper to send a friend of your own here with proposals to the general, he shall be pro-

tected and well treated here, and allowed to return whenever he pleases.

I can say nothing further at present but my best wishes for the restoration of peace and happiness to America.

At the moment Ethan arrived with this letter, the Councillors, assembled at Chittenden's, faced with the unexpected ferocity of Congress, must have believed that the game was pretty nearly up. But they immediately perceived the loophole Colonel Beverly Robinson had given them. At their instigation, Ethan immediately went off to his office to write a reply for Chittenden to send to Congress. John Williams, who saw him a few days later, informed Governor Clinton:

As for Allen he swears that he will fight, nay even run on to the mountains and live on mouse meat before he will subject himself to New York or Congress. He shewed me a letter last week which was going to the Council for approbation, in order to be sent to Congress, to this effect, that as the State of Vermont never had waged war with Great Britain, nor had joyned Congress by confederation, it was at the option of Vermont which to joyn.

The Council did approve Ethan's letter, Chittenden signed it, and Ira carried it to Philadelphia. Furthermore, Chittenden issued a proclamation offering a free passport to Vermont loyalists who wished to join the King's troops in Canada. On the day appointed, a great number assembled, many of them people who had never been suspected of Tory sentiments. A mob of violent rebels assembled and began to insult the Tories and to break their carriages. Thereupon Ethan rode up and (as usual) quieted the angry mob, declaring that the honor of the State was concerned in protecting these people. The rebels dispersed, but, from

this time on, there were rumors that he was at heart a Tory and was mixed up with the enemy.

Soon after this, he wrote to Washington to ask for four British officers in order to effect the exchange of Gideon Brownson and three other officers of Warner's regiment, who had been captured the year before. Brownson's family, Ethan explained, had heard that the prisoners in Canada were being mistreated and that Gideon was

in a very declining state and his life much endangered in consequence of the filth of the goal and naucious stagnated air.

Ethan added:

I would to God that a thorough retaliation might speedily take place and Congress' commissions and officers be relieved from the scorn and ignomy of a perfidious and rascally enemy.

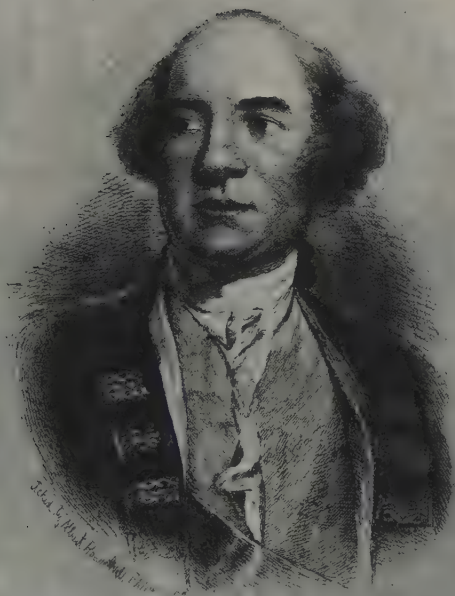
'Scorn and ignomy' is just what the enemy had not (but Congress had) been handing out to Vermont. Perhaps Ethan knew that Washington suspected him and thought the General would be fooled by some bluster about the 'perfidious and rascally enemy.' But the General was the last man on the continent to be fooled by that sort of thing, and his reply made it clear that there was no help coming from that quarter. He wrote that he could not exchange the officers of Warner's regiment out of their turn, but that he had complained to Haldimand about the treatment of the prisoners in Canada and had suggested that they be sent to New York and paroled so that their friends might reach them with supplies.

There was no alternative left except to apply to General Haldimand direct. This was facilitated by the

presence, in Vermont, of a certain Captain Wright, known to be a British scout. Chittenden gave him a letter addressed to Haldimand, suggesting that they arrange a cartel to exchange the Vermont prisoners, and Ethan personally conducted the Captain as far as Lake Champlain, where a British boat met them. It is possible that Ethan's old friend Justus Sherwood came down in the boat, and they had a chance to chat about old times. A few days later, he reported to headquarters that Ethan had a number of men enlisted for the King's service, in case Congress should refuse to comply with his demand. By then Ira had returned from Philadelphia, with news of another postponement of the Vermont question by Congress. For whatever reason, he chose this moment to pay Ethan the money due him by the State — nearly four thousand pounds.

At Philadelphia, Ira had made friends with Luke Knoulton, the founder and principal person of New-fane, who was representing the Yorkers of Cumberland County. Knoulton was supposed to be a staunch patriot, but in fact he was in communication with the British. The two spent many evenings together and concocted a scheme for reuniting the sixteen towns with Vermont in order to embarrass Congress. Furthermore, Luke confided his relations with the British to Ira, who, more shrewd and far-sighted, perceived their possibilities. If through Luke and other agents negotiations could be opened with the British, the Vermonters might be able to protect their frontiers with vague promises, while at the same time tantalizing Congress into coming to some sort of decision.

As soon as he reached home, Ira, of course, took the matter up with Ethan, who, very likely, had by then



GENERAL SIR FREDERICK HALDIMAND, K.B.
1716 - 1791.

Colonel of the 45th Foot, and Governor of Quebec.

From an etching printed by Sir Joshua Reynolds for the possession of Sir J. H. P.

GENERAL SIR FREDERICK HALDIMAND
From an etching by Albert Rosenthal after
the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds

arrived at pretty much the same plan. At just this time word was received that Major André, a British officer, had been captured in disguise within the American lines, and hanged.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE LORD PUTS A HOOK IN THEIR NOSE

HARVEST came. The farmers reaped and gathered in their crops, plowed fallow fields, and took grist to mill. There was frost on the ground and steam rising from the ponds in the morning. The wind snatched red leaves from the maple trees and carried them away across the hills. Then, in October, eight British ships-of-war sailed up the Lake and landed over a thousand men at Skenesboro. While they marched south, along the Burgoyne road toward the Hudson, taking and destroying Fort Edward, Fort Ann, Fort George, and Ballstown, Ethan at his headquarters in Castleton watched and waited with the entire Vermont militia in arms—an army of nearly two hundred thirty farmers.

At about ten o'clock on the night of October 28, he received a message from Herrick, who was guarding the mills four miles west of Castleton, that Justus Sherwood had come to his camp with a flag of truce and asked for Ethan, in order to give him Haldimand's reply to Governor Chittenden's request for a cartel. Ethan exclaimed, 'The time is at length come when we shall be freed from the damnation of New Yorkers!' And sent back word that he would meet Sherwood at Major Clark's house in the morning.

At dawn Ethan rode to the appointed place. Sherwood gave him a letter of introduction from General Haldimand which promised that during the continuation of the negotiation no attack or insult should be offered to any Vermont post or scout, and asked that the Vermonters return the courtesy.

Ethan had 'summonsed' a council of ten field officers. After reading Haldimand's letter, he informed them that Sherwood had been sent to negotiate a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, but that, as his instructions were 'somewhat discretionary,' a short private conference might be useful in order to understand his ideas and assist him in explaining his business to them. With the officers' consent, Ethan and Sherwood 'walked out' alone. After an interval of polite conversation (remember they were old friends who hadn't seen each other for five years, busy years, too), Sherwood announced that he had some business of importance, but before he communicated it he must request Ethan's honor as a gentleman that should it not please him he would take no advantage of Sherwood or ever mention it while he remained in the country. Ethan said he would

if it was no damned Arnold plan to sell his country and his own honor by betraying the trust reposed in him.

After some further preliminaries, Sherwood announced that General Haldimand

was perfectly well informed of all that had lately passed between Congress and Vermont and of the fixed intentions of Congress never to consent to their being a separate State; that from General Allen's common character His Excellency conceived he was a man of too much good sense and solid reason; that Congress was only duping them and waited for a favorable opportunity to crush them and that this was a proper time to cast off the Congress yoke and resume their former allegiance to the King of Great Britain, by doing which they would secure to themselves those privileges they had so long contended for with New York.

Insisting that his only motive was regard and friend-

ship for the people of Vermont, Sherwood, at last, came to the point: if Vermont would acknowledge allegiance to the Crown, it should be formed into a separate Province and Ethan should command a regiment of loyal Vermonters.

Ethan observed:

that the proposals, so far as they respected his personal promotion, had not the weight of a straw with him, that he was not to be purchased at any rate, that he had been offered a lieutenant colonel's commission on condition of changing sides while in captivity which he refused as he ever meant to be governed by the strictest rule of honor and justice; but that since the proposals seemed materially to concern the whole people of Vermont whose liberties and properties for a number of years past were much dearer to him than his own life he should take them into very serious consideration.

Remembering the awaiting Vermont officers, Ethan and Sherwood went in to them. Joseph Fay read the letters from General Haldimand and Major Carleton, which promised a truce with Vermont while prisoners were being exchanged. On the whole, the council was satisfied with them, but one of the officers pointed out that there was nothing to stop the British from making a raid on upper New York, while negotiating the cartel with Vermont. Sherwood gave his pledge that Carleton would make no offensive move during the negotiation, and immediately dispatched a messenger to the Major to inform him of this promise. At the same time Ethan wrote circular letters to all of his officers commanding frontier posts informing them of the truce and cessation of hostilities. At about one o'clock the council broke up and Fay started at once for Bennington with Sherwood's letters. That evening he and Ethan managed to have another short conference.

The next morning they met again and conversed 'free from any restraint' until two o'clock. Sherwood confided that he had brought written proposals and could produce them if Ethan wanted. He said he did not want to see them, but promised to send Brother Ira and Joseph Fay to Canada to see them, provided Sherwood would be

very cautious not to exhibit the smallest idea to them of anything but neutrality, nor even that to take place except Congress force them to it by their Tyranny and obstinate refusal to grant Vermont her just and lawful claims.

Ethan admitted he was 'heartily weary of war' and wished

once more to enjoy the sweets of peace and devote himself to his philosophical studies

but insisted that he was

sincerely attached to the liberties of America

and that nothing but the same tyrannical treatment of Vermont by Congress as had originally caused the colonies to separate from Great Britain

should ever induce him to harbour the most distant idea of deviating from the cause he had been so long engaged in, and for which he had been so great a sufferer.

Furthermore, he pointed out that even if he wanted to return to the Crown it was not in his power to do so

for in the first place should he now make a declaration of that nature his own people would cut off his head.

In short, Ethan's plan was to publish manifestoes explaining to the people the tyrannical proceedings of Congress, and if, after these had time to circulate, Congress continued obstinate, Vermont would

declare herself a neutral power free and independent of any other power on earth

and would 'invite all people to a free trade with her.' If Congress raised a force to subdue Vermont, Ethan would

march with his own brigade and take possession of Albany and invite all friends to the liberties of America to join him.

He said he was confident he would be reënforced by some thousands from the frontiers of the neighboring provinces already well attached to Vermont, particularly Berkshire County, Massachusetts. If driven from Albany, he would make a stand at Ticonderoga; then, rather than be 'ruined by Congress,' would ask help from Canada. Should this occur, he would

expect to command his own forces, Vermont must be a government separate from and independent of any other province in America, must choose their own civil officers and representatives, be entitled to all the privileges offered to the other states by the King's commissioners, and the New Hampshire Grants as chartered by Benning Wentworth must be confirmed free from any patents or claims from New York or any other province.

He also pointed out

that a revolution of this nature must be a work of time, that it is impossible to bring so many different minds into one channel on a sudden

and that it was

not in his power to wait on General Haldimand or Major Carleton as that would create too much suspicion.

He recommended

that General Haldimand's flags be always sent with some business to the State of New York as well as to Vermont

and concluded:

if Congress should grant Vermont a seat in that Assembly as a separate State this negotiation to be at an end and to be kept secret on both sides.

After instructing a certain Captain Parker to accompany Sherwood to his lines 'with all possible politeness,' Ethan started for Bennington. On the way he stopped at his headquarters to issue orders to disband the militia, so that the farmers might reach home in time to sow winter wheat. He also sent word to Colonel Webster, who commanded the New York militia, that a truce had been arranged for the exchange of prisoners, that New York was included, and that he must conduct his affairs only on the defensive until receiving further word.

On reaching Bennington, Ethan presented Haldimand's and Carleton's letters to the Assembly (it had recessed so that its members, most of whom belonged to the militia, might go to war, but now was reconvening), and explained that he had arranged a truce so that prisoners might be exchanged. The legislators passed resolutions of approval, but some of them whispered that it was very strange that a few words with a British officer should cause an entire army suddenly to abandon a successful expedition. They were not satisfied with the explanation of the common people, who were saying to each other, 'And the Lord put a hook in their nose and turned them about the way they came.' A certain William Hutchins even presented a remonstrance to the Assembly. Ethan was not present, but he was served with a copy. He hurried to the tavern and, when the remonstrance was read, made a speech,

in which he observed there was uneasiness among some of the people on account of his command and that he would resign his commission and if the Assembly thought best to give him the command at any time that he would endeavor to serve the State according to his abilities.

Monday afternoon Hutchins's remonstrance was read again, as well as a second one signed by Simeon Hathaway. Thereupon, according to the Assembly Journal, Ethan

rose up and said he would not hear no more of it, as it was beneath his character to sit there and hear such false and ignominious aspersions against him, and went out of the house.

The legislators sent a messenger after him, so he returned and asked them if they were going to listen to these remonstrances,

and being answered that they both would be taken into consideration, he went out of the house.

The next day the remonstrances were considered and withdrawn. Sam Robinson and Reuben Jones were appointed to notify Ethan that his resignation was accepted and to thank him for his 'good services' as Brigadier-General. As a result of his truce there was no further need of an army or a brigadier-general, but the legislators evidently felt a little badly about Hutchins and the remonstrance, which they or their friends destroyed. And the next day they granted to Ethan, and some associates, the town of Easthaven.

Meanwhile, in keeping with Ethan's promise, Ira and Joseph Fay, carrying a letter of introduction from Ethan addressed to Carleton, were on their way to meet Sherwood and Dr. George Smythe (an Albany doctor who had fled to St. John's after being threat-

ened with arrest for his Tory sentiments), to arrange the details of the cartel. In Ira's words, they

met and all agreed to go into Canada together. When they arrived at East Bay, an early and severe frost had obstructed their way in consequence of the ice. While their men were breaking through the ice, much political conversation and exhibits of papers took place.

Soon afterwards they parted and returned to their respective homes.

In Sunderland, while the leaves fell, streams froze, and snow filled the gullies and crevices of Mount Equinox, Ethan whiled away the time with notes and syllogisms. On one of his visits to Philadelphia he had recovered from Thomas Young's family the manuscript they had compiled together in Salisbury. Ethan had the experience of twenty years to add to Young's youthful philosophical researches. While the wind howled and snow banked around the house, he spent the long hours weaving sentences, amending notes, concocting hypotheses.

If you ever see the valley of Sunderland, you will realize that it is an ideal setting for a philosopher, such as a Teufelsdorf or a Pantoufle would revel in. The mountains, reaching to the sky, seem to be asking questions; the river answers with a song.

Late in November, Sherwood sent a messenger to Ethan for a list of the Vermont prisoners in Canada, so that in the spring, as soon as the ice was out, they could be brought up the Lake to be exchanged. Ethan promised to send commissioners with a list of the Vermont prisoners to St. John's or Quebec about the 1st of January. He also agreed that it would be inadvisable to continue the truce any longer: it was too late

in the year for fighting, anyway. Writing to General Stark soon after this, Ethan mentioned:

I perceive that the transactions of this state in making a truce with the British and bringing forward a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, has considerably engrossed the attention of the public. Our general assembly will sit the (first) Wednesday of February next. Soon after I expect a manifesto will be published, in which will be exhibited many things which the public are anxious to know. Till that time people must be content with such conjectures as best suits. I am at a loss to form an idea what the United States would have Vermont to do.

Ethan took his letter, at least part way, to Albany himself. Then, continuing on to Salisbury, he appeared before the justice court there, with Brother Ira, and they collected debts from several of those who still owed money to Heman's estate. Perhaps the two brothers had some reason for believing it was a good plan to keep their affairs liquid at this time.

CHAPTER XXVIII

CROWFOOT TRIES HIS SNOWSHOES

THERE was in the British service a half-breed sufficiently literate to sign his name as 'Davie Crowfut.' Usually called 'Crowfoot,' he was considered, by Sherwood, for example, as 'a man of no great penetration,' but 'sincerely honest and true.' So when Sherwood wanted to communicate with Ethan again, instead of going himself, he sent Crowfoot with a letter. Sherwood may have written this as he wrote some others, with milk, wrapping the paper around a little bunch of ginger and 'shuger' so that Crowfoot could swallow it in case he got into trouble.

With the letter and Sherwood's seal, for identification, Crowfoot walked south on the frozen Lake to Skenesboro, then overland to Arlington, which he reached on the 3d of February, 1781. He went at once to the house of Elnathan Merwin, who recognized Sherwood's ring. Merwin called in his friend Zadock Hard, to whom Crowfoot explained that he had a letter for Ethan. The next morning Hard went to Ethan and asked him if he would receive a messenger from Sherwood if there should ever be need of it. Ethan said

if he could be certain he was from Sherwood he would receive him and send him back safe.

Hard then told him that there was one at this very moment waiting with a letter for him. Ethan said he would not see the man, but would see the letter and return his answer to Hard.

The next day Hard brought Ethan Sherwood's letter which announced that the British commissioners were ready for the cartel and that the messenger was a trusty man. Sherwood afterwards commented:

I wrote nothing in my letter to Allen respecting the other business. My motive for writing was to sound him by giving him an opportunity to correspond with me through the friends to Government and to send me what message he pleased. Allen returned a verbal answer that he wished to have the exchange take place, & had given his instructions to the commissioners, and as he understood there was now but the Majr., myself, & the Messenger, whom I had recommended, acquainted with my sending him the letter, he trusted it would be kept a secret.

Crowfoot reported that Ethan told Mr. Hard

to tell me to take care of myself but if I should happen to be taken to keep my own secrets and he would get me at Liberty and send me back to Canada. He said I must tell Capt. Sherwood that he meant to keep sacred and with honour everything he had agreed to with him when he was down and he hoped it would be the same on our side and that an exchange would soon take place. He said he should send all his business by the Flag, which he hoped would be in very soon. He said I might tell Capt. Sherwood he was tired of fighting and did not intend to fight the British nor no others any more. And that all the people wished for a settlement of the war and that everything worked favorably.

When he read this Sherwood remarked:

The above report puts me in suspense between fear and hope for Allen is sincere and matters are drawing to a favorable conclusion much faster than I ever expected. Or he is a most subtle designing fellow. I am not able to determine which.

At this time, Sir Henry Clinton, in New York, was as puzzled as Sherwood at St. John's. A certain George

Beckwith told Sir Henry that he had seen a man who heard Ethan declare he would have nothing to do with Congress, and another scout brought word that Ethan was collecting great quantities of grain at Coos, on the river, was raising a regiment among the Vermont loyalists, and had been to Quebec in the fall. At the same time Clinton (as well as Haldimand) was constantly receiving messages from Germain that the return of the people of Vermont to their allegiance was 'an event of the utmost importance to the King's affairs.' If Germain had not been so hopelessly ignorant concerning the King's affairs, he might not have lost for him the greater part of the continent of North America.

Early in the year Clinton got Beverly Robinson to write a second letter in hope that it might bear more fruit than the first. In looking around for a messenger to take this letter to Ethan, he came upon a man named Obadiah Whiston, who was confined in the Provost Jail because letters had been found in his pocket-book from American officers — among them Ethan — thanking him for his kindness to them while prisoners. Sir Henry sent for Obadiah and asked him whether he was acquainted with Ethan and what sort of a man he was. Obadiah said he was 'a man of no principles.' Clinton then asked:

Will you take a letter to him from me? I will give you seven hundred Guineas to do this business. I will give Allen everything he has asked of Congress. Vermont shall be independent, Allen shall be the Governor and I will give him two thousand men to support him if required. You will likewise inform him of the great attention that has been shown Arnold and that he received fifteen hundred Guineas upon his coming in and fifteen hundred more before he went to Chesapeake.

Apparently Obadiah turned down Sir Henry's offer, for Samuel Rose, who had just broken out of the Northampton jail, carried the packet which was delivered to Ethan, in Arlington, on the 23d of February. It contained a copy of Beverly Robinson's previous letter with an addition, reading:

The frequent accounts we have had for three months past from your part of the country confirms me in the opinion I had of your inclination to join the king's cause, and to assist in restoring America to her former peaceable and happy constitution. This induces me to make another trial in sending this to you, especially as I can now with more authority, and assure you that you may obtain the terms mentioned in the above letter, provided you and the people of Vermont take an active part with us. I beg to have an answer to this as soon as possible, and that you will (if it is your intention) point out some method of carrying on a correspondence for the future; also in what manner you can be most serviceable to government, either by acting with our northern army or to meet and join our army from hence. Should be glad you would give me every information that may be useful to the commander-in-chief.

Shortly after Ethan received this, Seth Warner came to see him, and asked him, point-blank, whether he had received any letters from the enemy. At first, apparently, Ethan said he had not, but, finally, he confided to Seth that, as a matter of fact, he had received two, one of which he burned and the other he delivered to the Council at Arlington and that one of them was from Beverly Robinson in New York. Seth Warner had not been friends with Ethan since their row over the command of the Green Mountain Boys. He must have been glad to think he had forced Ethan's hand. But it would have taken a more clever man

than Seth to outwit Ethan. No longer able to keep his letters from Robinson a secret, he turned completely around and sent them both to the President of Congress with a long epistle explaining exactly where he stood, or, rather, where he chose to say he stood. He emphasized the point that no other letters had come from Beverly Robinson, but made no allusion to the fact that he had received both letters and direct communications from Sherwood. The fact that he was deliberately trying to hoodwink Congress is brought out in an admission to a British spy, made some time later, that he feared General Enos had acquainted Congress with the whole proceedings.

In Ethan's letter to the President of Congress, after describing how he had received the two enclosed communications from Colonel Beverly Robinson, and explaining that Vermont had protected her own as well as New York's frontier, although Congress claimed 'an exclusive right of arbitrating on the existence of Vermont as a separate government,' and apparently intended to partition her among the surrounding States, he went on with:

I do not hesitate to say I am fully grounded in opinion that Vermont has an indubitable right to agree on terms of cessation of hostilities with Great Britain, provided the United States persist in rejecting her application for a union with them, for Vermont, of all people, would be the most miserable, were she obliged to defend the independence of united claiming States, and they, at the same time, at full liberty to overturn and ruin the independence of Vermont. I am persuaded when Congress considers the circumstances of this State, they will be more surprised that I have transmitted them the enclosed letters than that I have kept them in custody so long for I am resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont

as Congress are that of the United States, and rather than fail, will retire with hardy Green Mountain Boys into the desolate caverns of the mountains, and wage war with human nature at large.

When the Assembly (including representatives of the sixteen towns, united, once again, with Vermont) met at Windsor a month later, Governor Chittenden presented copies of Ethan's letter to Congress as well as the two received from Beverly Robinson, and procured, from the House, a vote of confidence and approval. The Assembly went even further and, forgetting the impeachment proceedings of the previous autumn, elected Ethan Brigadier-General of the First Brigade of Militia. But he declined to accept the office, promising, however, that he would render any service desired of him at any time, although not formally commissioned. His motive for so doing is not clarified by the following letter which he sent to Governor Clinton of New York by the hand of Captain Putnam, of the Quartermaster's Department, two days later:

This with the Intelligence of Capt. Putnam will give your Excellency to understand that Col. Ebenezer Allen Col. Sam^l Herrick Capt Jesse Sawyer Lieut Nathaniel Homes and my self are put out of Military Command in the State of Vermont we are so Conceited as to Imagine that Vermont have not Timber to supply our places. However this is a Task which belongs to Those Gentle men before mentioned to Engage the Service of the State of New-York — We think the proposal to be Honourable whether Complied with or not and Notwithstanding the heretofore Disputations which have subsisted between us and the Government of New-York we would Esteem it the greatest happiness of our lives lastly to defend the State of New-York against their Cruel Invaders

There have been many attempts to explain this letter. It is hard to believe that Ethan seriously intended to serve the State of New York — which he had been fighting for years — particularly at this moment when his behavior had been completely vindicated by Vermont and when the New York Senate was inclined to acknowledge Vermont's claims. There is a still more paradoxical element.

The people of the district which lay between the Vermont line and the Hudson — twenty miles wide and about eighty long — sympathized with their Green Mountain neighbors and wanted to secede from New York and unite with them. The reason for this movement seems to have been fear of a British advance, which was so great that the inhabitants of Granville, for instance, were on the point of abandoning their town altogether (as quite commonly happened) and moving off into the interior. For some reason they believed that if they became a part of Vermont they would be saved — the only plausible explanation being that it was now common gossip that Ethan had made peace with the British and that Vermont was no longer at war. When the officers of Cambridge tried to raise the militia to defend the New York frontier, the men refused to serve and sent a petition asking for protection to the Vermont Assembly which was received while Ethan was at Windsor. The idea appealed to him and to the other Vermonters and he was appointed to go and 'sell' the union to the people of the district.

So, apparently, when he wrote the letter to Clinton, he was just starting out on a mission to slice off a piece of New York and graft it onto Vermont. He had reached this district two days after the date of the

letter, for Brinton Paine then wrote to Governor Clinton that Ethan was going about working up enthusiasm for the union, 'persuading and deluding the people.' Schuyler added that he gave them 'explicit assurances' that they would not be molested by the British. Meanwhile, the union with the sixteen New Hampshire towns had been reinstated, so that at a time when Vermont, faced with enemies on every side, appeared to be on the verge of annihilation, she actually expanded to limits to which she had never before pretended. As Ira, with characteristic quaintness, remarked:

The genius of Vermont was fruitful in resources; even in the gulph of difficulties, and on the verge of ruin, she waxed strong, extended her wings, and made herself known amongst the nations of the earth.

Fundamentally, they were poets, these Allens. Micah Townsend, the Vermonter who was in secret correspondence with the British, rode to New York this spring and told Sir Henry Clinton:

Ethan Allen is Brigadier General of the Militia and has no civil office on account of his professed deism and refusing the tests.

Perhaps it was Micah who brought back the news that the thirteen States had signed Articles of Confederation. This event defined Vermont's position more sharply than before as that of an independent republic, who had declared allegiance to neither the Crown nor the Confederacy, a child of discord, whose favors, it must have immediately occurred to such astute business men as the directors of the Onion River Company, had better go to the highest bidder.

CHAPTER XXIX

SERGEANT TUPPER IS KILLED

ETHAN had promised to send commissioners to arrange the details of the cartel as soon as the Lake was navigable. At this time there were eight men in the secret, though many more suspected that the cartel was only an excuse for some mysterious negotiation — as, in fact, it was. Out of the eight, Ira seemed to be the only one who could go to Canada as a commissioner without creating too much suspicion and could at the same time be relied on to avoid some misstep which might cost all eight (including, remember, the Governor and most of his Council) their lives.

He left Sunderland on his birthday, the 1st of May, 1781, accompanied by a lieutenant and eighteen men, fully prepared to suggest an armistice to the British commissioners. Meanwhile, Ethan continued his propaganda work among the inhabitants of the district between the Hudson and the Vermont line. On one of these excursions he met a Major McCracken, who asked him what part the Grants would take in case the enemy attempted to penetrate into the country. Ethan replied that they would 'neither give nor take any assistance from the State of New York.'

The Major at once reported this conversation to General Schuyler. At the same time Ethan, having returned to Bennington, was writing to the General to inform him:

A flag which I sent last fall to the British Commanding Officer at Crown Point and which were there detained near one month on their return gave me to understand

that they at several different times threatened to Captivate your person, said that it had been in their power to have taken some of your family the last Campaign, but that they had an Eye to your self. — I must Confess that Such Conversation before my flag, seems rather flummery than real premeditated design. However that there was such Conversation I do not dispute which you will make such Improvement of as you see fitt. — I shall conclude with assuring your Honor that Notwithstanding the late reports or rather surmises of my Corrisponding with the Enemy to the prejudice of the United States it is wholly without foundation.

Schuyler forwarded the letter to Washington, remarking that it only made him more suspicious of Ethan than ever. His motive in sending the letter (at the time when Ira was at Isle aux Noix) must have been to hoodwink Schuyler into thinking that there was nothing in the rumors of Vermont's negotiations with the enemy, but, apparently, the rumors were more convincing than the letter.

A few days later, Ethan went to meet Ira on his return. They were joined by the few other men who were in the secret. Ira reported that he had come to a verbal agreement with the British that hostilities should cease between them and the Vermonters during the session of the Assembly and for a reasonable time after that for a commissary of prisoners to reach the Royal George on Lake Champlain, and even longer, if prospects were satisfactory to General Haldimand. Ira had got what he wanted, had postponed Vermont's annihilation for the rest of the summer, had gained time to look around and think. He had to pay for this by permitting letters to pass through Vermont, to and from Canada, and promising to prepare the people for a change of government.

After remaining for three days in consultation at the Governor's, Ethan started for Connecticut and Massachusetts, apparently to buy powder again and to enlist men for the Vermont army. Very evidently, some plan had been concocted to make the most of the time Ira had gained, but just what it was is not clear. By the 4th of July, Ethan had returned to Arlington, where he gave George Outman a draft of twenty shillings on the Treasurer for the hire of a horse to Salisbury on the business of the State of Vermont. Something must have been very much the matter when Ethan rode hired horses.

Apparently he returned to Sunderland and, during those ominous summer days of peace which Ira had conjured from an invincible British army, studied philosophy. But one day a neighbor informed him that some of his friends from Canada would like to see him and would be at a certain place in the woods at dusk. Ethan, armed only with a cane, went to the appointed place and found there a British sergeant with a guard from whom he received a packet containing a letter from Sherwood. The next evening he met them again and gave them his answer. This performance was repeated from time to time during the summer: Ethan, in his monastic retreat at Sunderland, had, as it were, a private wire leading to the British headquarters at St. John's — a really splendid way to conduct a campaign.

In September, Ira and Joseph Fay met the British commissioners at Skenesborough and actually exchanged prisoners. But, at the same time, they concocted a far-reaching plan. Haldimand was to issue a proclamation offering to confirm Vermont as a colony under the Crown. Then a British flotilla would

sail up the Lake in October, during the session of the Assembly, and send a copy of the proclamation to the Vermont Assembly. Ira suspected that the flotilla was coming in October anyway, and he realized his plan would prolong the armistice until that time, and would, even then, keep the British idle while the proclamation was being delivered and read to the Assembly. He was fighting for time.

The British fleet sailed up the Lake as planned. Wishing to communicate with Ira, Sherwood sent out a detachment of twelve men to capture a Vermont scout. Unfortunately, the first squad of Vermonters they came upon resisted and in the skirmish which ensued one of them was killed. His name was Sergeant Tupper. The other prisoners were well entertained and sent back attended by a flag which was directed to inter the rebel sergeant's body. They were given a letter from Colonel St. Leger, the commander of the expedition to Governor Chittenden, expressing regret at having killed one of his citizens, and also Sergeant Tupper's clothes to take home to his wife.

It so happened that the letter was entrusted to Simeon Hathaway, who had just a year before produced the remonstrance against Ethan's conduct. He hurried across the mountains to Charleston, where the Assembly was now in session, and, on arriving, announced to everybody in sight that he had brought Sergeant Tupper's clothes to his widow and a letter from the British general to the Vermont Governor apologizing for having killed one of his soldiers. A considerable commotion ensued. Major Runnals, a fervent Whig, meeting Ira, asked him to explain why General St. Leger was sorry that Sergeant Tupper had been killed. Ira replied that good men were sorry

when good men were killed. This infuriated Runnals, and he went off saying he would like to know what reasons could possibly induce a British general to be sorry when his enemies were killed and to send their clothes to the widows.

Meanwhile, St. Leger, learning that his position at Ticonderoga was alarming the Vermonters, moved his forces north to Chimney Point. In spite of the negotiations on foot, it is a little difficult to understand the point of view of a commanding officer who moves his army backwards because its presence in enemy territory has been disturbing the peace of mind of the inhabitants. But before St. Leger had time to appreciate the humor of his tactics, he received word that Cornwallis had surrendered at Yorktown. Realizing that after this the rebel Vermonters would be in no mood to listen to proposals from the British, he retired to St. John's with his entire army of ten thousand men, which had been withheld from annihilating Vermont by absolutely nothing but conversation.

As a matter of fact, it came much closer to bloody warfare in the annexed New York territory, where there were frequent little encounters between Yorkers and Vermonters. It reached such a point that, early in December, Governor Clinton sent General Gansevoort with an army of two hundred militiamen to reconquer the lost territory. Likewise, Governor Chittenden dispatched Colonel Abbott with about the same number of Vermonters to repel the invasion. The two armies encamped on the opposite banks of the Wal-lumscaick and devoted themselves to sending hostile messages back and forth across the frozen brook until Ethan arrived with reënforcements from Vermont.

At just about the same time Mrs. Bleecker came out

from Albany to bring provisions to her husband, who was serving in the New York militia, and to have a look at the 'illegitimate Vermonters.' She saw Ethan, and, after returning to Albany, wrote to a friend:

General Allen was bound up in gold-lace, and felt himself grand as the Great Mogul: they had an old spiked up field piece, which, however, looked martial.

So much so, it seems, that soon after Ethan arrived upon the scene, the New York militiamen informed their commander that it was time they were home cutting stovewood, and promptly disbanded. Before the end of 1781, Vermont had repelled a British fleet with words and a New York army with gold lace.

CHAPTER XXX

'CALL NOW ON YOUR GOD CONGRESS'

THE battle of Wallumscaick, besides amusing Ann Bleecker, brought it home to the Vermonters that the unions needed some explaining. Accordingly the Council instructed Ethan to produce a pamphlet, which he did at once, calling it, significantly, 'The Present State of the Controversy' — between New York, New Hampshire, and Vermont. After convincing the reader of the propriety as well as expediency of Vermont's helping herself to her socially accepted sisters' land, it went on to explain some other things which Ethan seemed to think needed explaining, such as this:

But, say the enemies to the independence of Vermont, why was there but little or no fighting between them and the enemy in Canada last campaign? Surely there is some negotiation taking place between them inimical to the United States of America. Rouse the whole confederacy and destroy Vermont. But why, what evil have they sustained from the northward? Have the enemy been permitted to pass through Vermont to invade the United States? No, not yet: but it is going to be done — So is the last trumpet going to sound, but not yet, and it is more than probable that neither of these events will take place in our days.

But he admitted:

Vermont does not mean to be so over-righteous as by that means to die before her time; but for the States of New York and New Hampshire, to stand griping their respective claims fast hold of Vermont, and at the same time make such a hedious outcry against the gripe of Vermont upon them, is altogether romantic and laughable.

Ethan took his manuscript to Hartford, and at the same time Ira and Jonas went to Philadelphia to see what could be done there. Perhaps they passed, on the way, a messenger who was bringing a letter to Chittenden, from Washington, which promised:

You have nothing to do but withdraw your jurisdiction to your old limits and obtain an acknowledgement of independence and sovereignty. . . .

The Vermont Assembly, then in session at Bennington, proceeded to annul the unions, supposing that as soon as Congress heard of this, it would admit Vermont into the Confederation. Unfortunately, now that Washington had won the war, Congress no longer listened to his demands. With the threat of the unions as well as of British invasion removed, the thirteen States were able to snub their unwelcome sister more than ever.

When it became clear that Congress intended to repudiate Washington's promise, Ethan, as well as Ira, Chittenden, Jonas, Joseph, and the rest of the real leaders of Vermont, turned away in disgust, and from that time on did everything in their power to render Vermont a British Province. There have been whispers that Ethan's conduct was treasonable because Congress had voted him the pay of a lieutenant-colonel, during its pleasure, as a reward for past services and sufferings, which, by the way, he was not collecting. As a citizen of the independent Republic of Vermont, he was pursuing the course which he believed was most likely to benefit his State: Congress evidently intended to partition it among several States, as soon as convenient, while Great Britain offered recognition as an individual Province, free trade with Canada, and no war debt.

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF THE
CONTROVERSY
BETWEEN

For Speech of Book
THE STATES
NEW-YORK
Read of AND *Col. Trumbull*
NEW-HAMPSHIRE

ON THE ONE PART,
AND THE STATE
OF
VERMONT

ON THE OTHER *Library of Congress*
Ethan Allen 1867
City of Washington
HARTFORD

PRINTED BY HUDSON & GOODWIN
M.DCC.LXXXII.

Dr. Smythe, the Albany Tory (it was he who, two years earlier, forwarded Robinson's letter to Ethan), had long since fled to St. John's, where he was busy assisting Sherwood in the intrigue with Vermont. Later, with the assistance of Jonas Fay, his wife followed, but their son Terence had been locked up in the Albany jail. In March this year (1782) he escaped and made his way to Canada through Vermont. Passing through Sunderland, he called on Ethan who assured him

he would have the Unions on again very soon and that he would engage to bring the whole State to declare for Government within two months if they could have a British force to assist and protect them.

He also said he was afraid that General Enos, in whom the Haldimand conspirators had confided, had betrayed them to Congress. This was a pretty significant admission, on Ethan's part, that his own letter to Congress was a mere blind.

He also entrusted young Smythe with an unsigned letter for General Haldimand. Vermont, it admitted, was in 'critical circumstances.' 'Your friends do as well as they can.' It told about Washington's letter, abandoning the unions, and the failure of Congress to act.

Jealousy rages high about us in the United States. The turning point is whether Vermont confederates with Congress or not which I presume will not be done. Heaven forbid it.

Perhaps the reader has not forgotten Crowfoot. When not busy carrying dispatches between St. John's and Sunderland, he seems to have occupied himself recruiting men for the British army in New

York and Vermont. In his quiet way he must have been quite a persuasive fellow.

This spring he left Albany with seventeen proselytes, but, while passing through Vermont, Peleg Sunderland captured the party and brought his prisoners to Sunderland to be tried before Chittenden and Ethan. During the trial Crowfoot's Indian blood showed, for he neither cracked a smile nor winked at Ethan. Afterwards, in private, Ethan begged him to take care of himself, 'for the mob were watching every motion.'

In the mean time Ira had sent word to Canada that a double number of men must be exchanged to satisfy the populace, which had taken it into its head that Crowfoot's recruits were guilty of treason. A mob actually gathered and marched to Chittenden's house to demand why the prisoners had not been hanged, but Eli Brownson with a detachment of militia arrived in time to preserve order. Forty captive Vermonters were sent from Canada in exchange for Crowfoot and his seventeen recruits.

Soon after this Ethan was informed that Wright had come in from St. John's and wanted to see him. Wright told him that General Haldimand would like to arrange a private interview. Ethan said he would meet the General at any time and at any place he liked; also that in his opinion if an army could appear on the frontier Vermont would become a British Province in three weeks; and that he had done everything in his power to bring about union with Canada, which he believed he had effected 'except with a few hot heads about Bennington.' Wright was followed by Crowfoot and others requesting Ethan to come and have a talk with His Excellency. The messengers hinted that Haldimand had authority to offer Ver-

mont very favorable terms. Behind the General's new liberality lay the fact that the British Ministry had fallen with Yorktown. Following the ingenious British custom, Germain had been elevated to the peerage, where he could no longer mismanage the King's affairs. Shelburne, the new Colonial Secretary, instructed Haldimand and Carleton (who had replaced Clinton in New York) to make every effort to conciliate the Colonies. Germain had furnished a splendid object lesson in the fruitlessness of trying to reconquer them.

Living in Arlington, there was a certain Jacob Lansing, who, though clearly involved, had not been suspected in connection with the intrigue. In June, Ethan sent him to Canada with a letter for Haldimand, promising, once again, to meet him at any part of the Lake 'except I should find that it would hazard my life too much.' He also said:

The last refusal of Congress to admit this State into union has done more to awaken the common people to a sense of that interest and resentment of their conduct than all which they had done before. By their own account, they declare that Vermont does not and shall not belong to their confederacy. The consequence is that they may fight their own battles. It is liberty which they say they are after, but will not extend it to Vermont. Therefore Vermont does not belong to the confederacy or the controversy, but is a neutral Republic.

And:

I shall do everything in my power to render this State a British Province.

Lansing reached Quebec, delivered Ethan's letter, and informed the General that he was sent by Chittenden, Ethan, and 'their privy council' to negotiate a reunion,

for most of the populace were ready to become a British Province.

Meanwhile, in Sunderland, Ethan was putting the finishing touches on the manuscript of his book. Besides Young's notes he had gathered in the 'office' a working library which included a Bible, Pope's 'Essay on Man,' Salmon's 'Geographical Grammar,' Rathburn's 'Account of the Shaker Sect,' and two dictionaries, Daniel Fenning's and the great Dr. Johnson's (source of endless information and entertainment). In the twenty years since Ethan left Salisbury, he had read, studied, and ripened with experience. He had acquired a smattering of French (probably not enough to read the 'Encyclopédistes' in the original) and had produced five pamphlets as well as a number of newspaper articles. Young had died after giving the State which Ethan created its name.

There is a tradition that Ethan hired a young college student who was teaching school in Vermont to be his amanuensis. While Ethan dictated, walking up and down the room, swinging his cane, the young man would occasionally interrupt with a suggestion that a word was misplaced or the sense not clear. Ethan would sometimes lose his temper, swearing and threatening with his stick until the youth (whose grammar was probably perfect and whose name has been forgotten) put down what he wanted him to.

The negative side of the book is devoted to confuting Calvinism by an appeal to reason and to attacking the power of the priests and the weapons they use to keep themselves in power: miracles and revelation. Original Sin, the fall of man, Imputation, the inspiration of the Bible, the Atonement, are reduced to ashes in the fire of Reason. The virgin birth is esteemed un-

worthy of 'serious confutation.' The positive side is an attempt to establish Newtonian physics and Lockean psychology in the place of the Puritan cosmography and determinism. For the conception of a transcendent God, occasionally active in the affairs of the world, incomprehensible to reason, Ethan substitutes an immanent power, continually active in the world, knowable in his nature from man's own rational nature. In other words, the order of the universe, the laws of nature, are the Divine laws, knowable to man through the action of his reason, and God is their self-existent cause. We cannot comprehend His essence, eternity, or manner of existence, yet as far as we understand nature, we become acquainted with His character; for the knowledge of nature is the revelation of God. Nature, reason, God, good, hope, at last, seeping, like sunshine, through a tiny crevice into the infinite gloom of Calvinism. Ten years later, Paine and Jefferson were to roll back the boulders and let light pour into the deathly caverns — while in France the revolutionists would be proclaiming to an awaiting world the dawn of the age of reason.

Ethan, the pioneer, is approaching Spinoza's description of the universe. But the mountain chieftain stops short of monism: God is the eternal cause, nature His coexistent creation, its rules His attributes. Creation is an infinite exertion of omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent God. But man once created is left to make his own decisions, guided by reason.

This freedom of man's will is, of course, inconsistent with the conception of the omnipresent, ever-creating God. It is the rock on which Ethan's boat breaks to pieces — just when it is approaching the tranquil seas sailed by Spinoza and Emerson. But it was inevitable.

The doctrine of Free Will appealed to him more than any other abstract idea. In a sense, his whole life was a rebellion against Calvinistic determinism. His abandonment of accepted dogma belongs in the same category as his abandonment of the Crown. If there was any dominant factor in his philosophy of life, it was the love of liberty. He was the slave of Freedom.

If in the last analysis Ethan's conception falls short of consistency, compare it with the Mosaic-Calvinistic theory of creation: God, at a certain point in time, working by the day, for six days, and having to rest at night from his exertions, in order to complete a Garden of Eden from which he immediately ejects his creature, man, because of an indiscretion with an apple and a talking snake.

When his manuscript was ready, Ethan took it to Watson and Goodwin at Hartford who had published his political pamphlets. They had been willing to defy the Government of New York, but when it came to defying the Congregational Church they balked. Perhaps Ethan could have talked them into publishing his book, but apparently, before he had time to do so, he received word that he was needed in Vermont. Leaving his manuscript with them, he hurried home.

Encouraged by Governor Clinton and emboldened by the attitude of Congress, the Yorkers of Cumberland County were once again defying the Vermont Government. Finally, when Jonathan Hunt, a Vermont sheriff, attempted to arrest Timothy Church, of Brattleboro, on an execution, he was resisted and repulsed by Church and his neighbors. Jonathan hastened to the Governor, who called a special Council which commissioned Ethan to raise, equip, and mount two hundred fifty men and march them into Wind-

ham County as a posse to assist the civil authority.

In a week an army had assembled at Bennington. Before dawn on September 9 it was in motion. At its head, in full military regalia (the costume that dazzled Ann Bleecker and always terrified the enemy), mounted on a black charger, rode Ethan, up the winding mountain trail, breathing the fresh morning air with something like his old zest. What a relief, after the months of intrigue, suspense, and perpetual danger, to be riding to battle again!

At Marlboro, he dispatched Brother Ira with twenty men to capture Timothy Phelps, a loud-mouthed person who called himself the sheriff of Cumberland County. Toward evening Ira caught up with the main column and produced his prisoner. Timothy, managing to speak first, announced himself as the 'High Sheriff' of Cumberland County and ordered Ethan to go about his business. Leaning from his charger, Ethan knocked Timothy's hat from his head, told his adjutant to take the damned rascal off, and galloped forward.

He soon met his advance guard in disorderly retreat. The archives do not disclose what he said to them when he learned that they had fled from a volley fired by the men of Guilford, who were in ambush before their town, but immediately afterwards he issued orders that mercy should be shown to no one who offered resistance, and advancing at the head of the column to where the Guilfordites were hiding, he announced:

I Ethan Allen do declare that I will give no quarter to the man woman or child who shall oppose me and unless the inhabitants of Guilford peacefully submit to the authority of Vermont I swear that I will lay it as desolate as Sodom and Gomorrah by God.

Before the thunderous echoes had died away, the terrified Guilfordites were fleeing in the utmost confusion and Ethan's army rode on to Brattleboro without a peep from the enemy.

Twenty prominent Yorkers were seized and gathered together, marched to the jail at Westminster, tried before the Superior Court, convicted of 'enemical conduct,' and fined or banished, their estates being confiscated. They hurried to Albany to tell their friends what had happened. According to one of them, Ethan said he could go to Albany and be 'head monarch' in three weeks and had a good mind to do it. Also, he 'God Damned Clinton over and over from time to time.' William Shattuck, another of them, said that Ethan

advised and endeavoured to persuade him to renounce his allegiance to New York and join Vermont and among other arguments he told him that Congress had no right to pass any resolution respecting Vermont to prohibit them from exercising authority over any persons within the District they claimed jurisdiction over; that Congress never intended to enforce their resolutions on that subject; that the British never intended to wage war against Vermont; that Vermont had at first taken up arms against the British, but it was the sin of their Ignorance and that would be winked at; that if all the people of the Grants would be united, they might make independent fortunes, while the thirteen united States were quarrelling among themselves and becoming bankrupts; that Congress would be glad if they were to settle a neutrality with the enemy.

And Timothy Phelps reported that Ethan, visiting him in jail, remarked:

You have called on your God Clinton till you are tired. Call now on your God Congress, and they will answer you as Clinton has done.

CHAPTER XXXI

THIN ICE

WHEN the fun was over, Ethan rode back across the mountains to Sunderland, where the perpetual suspense and danger of the Intrigue awaited him.

Unmistakably, at this stage, the Intrigue was dangerous. There were plenty of people in Vermont who still revered Congress and would, if possessed of papers incriminating Ethan, try to bring about his ruin or death. He did not attend the session of the Assembly, this October, and took to signing such messages as he sent to the British with eight crosses. At the same time, Matthews, General Haldimand's secretary, worked out an ingenious code and arranged to pay spies by the trip instead of by the day, so that they would not spend so much time 'loitering at friends' houses.' And, in one of the XXXXXXXXX letters, Ethan informed Sherwood that a dispatch had been shown to

great numbers of people of both sexes in Berkshire county . . . such blobs may expose your best friends. For God's sake, yours and ours, be careful for the future.

For some reason, Ethan was spending a good deal of time in Berkshire County. This fall he bought a house in New Marlboro, and in his letters to Sherwood he mentioned his 'circuit' and his 'tour' through Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York.

By this time, Oswald and Franklin, in Paris, had signed preliminary articles of peace. Haldimand, however, refused to abandon his posts on Lake Cham-

plain and in the northwest without orders to do so — orders which he did not receive for years. Vermont's position was more anomalous than ever: an independent Republic within the limits of the Confederacy on territory partly occupied by British troops. In his letters, Ethan often referred to Vermont as 'this republic.' Its policy, he wrote, was to keep up a 'specious shew of union with Congress,' at the same time fostering disputes among the claiming States, so that they would not come to any agreement regarding Vermont.

He must have spent a good deal of time, those quiet autumn days at home in Sunderland or riding on his 'circuit' through the Berkshire hills, trying to figure out what was going to happen to Vermont, now that the fighting was over. The man who had gambled his youthful savings on the future prospects of Burlington Bay did not fail to see that the logical roads to market from the ports of Lake Champlain were the Sorel, the St. Lawrence, and the sea. He also knew that the Confederacy, by defeating Burgoyne and Cornwallis, had acquired not only liberty but debts, for which its members were liable, while Vermont, winning its battles with words, had met the expenses of government by confiscating Tories' estates. Did Vermont want to form an alliance which might close its markets and burden it with debts? It emphatically did not. Ethan informed Sherwood:

The people of all ranks and denominations have come to their senses so far as to be easy to continue in their present situation; great part of those that were the most zealous last February for an admittance into federal union dread taking on them the burden of the Continental debt so there will be no further difficulty under that head.

As soon as rumors of peace got about, people began to think of schemes by which they might profit from it. Even General Haldimand seems to have become involved in a plan for trading 'in an illicit manner' with certain New-Yorkers. He sent a messenger to ask Ethan

whether furnishing privately from time to time the people of New York and Vermont with a little salt and other necessities will be of service or a detriment to the political scale.

Ethan sent back word that trading with New York might not do any harm, but that it must not be done through Vermont or by persons who would have to get permits from Governor Chittenden to pass to Canada,

for this is a territory that is not in confederacy with the revolted colonies, but are willing not only to trade, but to be a British Colony, as soon as the pleasure of his Majesty and the present troubles will admit. But while a Continental Army remains in the field, watching the motions of Vermont, they are deterred from trading not from principle but from fear.

On another occasion, a trader named Benjamin Sumner, accompanied by the Reverend Ranna Cossit, Church of England minister of Cornwall, New Hampshire, a well-known Tory, called on Ethan on their way to St. John's, in hope that he would help them to form business contacts in Canada (Sumner wanted to sell peltries and Cossit to buy prayer-books). He told them he favored reunion with Great Britain, but refused to give them anything in writing which might compromise him. Not long after they departed, friend Crowfoot arrived in Sunderland with a note from Sherwood asking whether or not Sumner and Cossit

were all right. Ethan sent back word that Sumner was a reliable business man, and Cossit, as a friend of his, was probably all right, too, adding that the New-Yorkers had sent out scouts from Saratoga to try to intercept one of the British messengers and, so to speak, get the goods on the Vermonters, and that they must use extreme caution.

A little later a British officer named Pritchard turned up at Sunderland and tried to interest Ethan in a scheme for buying furs from the Indians in Canada and selling them to the traders in Albany. When Ethan turned him down, he tried to get Joseph Fay to back him. And there were others who came with schemes, reports, rumors, finding Ethan at Sunderland, giving him their news, getting from him what they could. So the year 1782 came to an end. The leaves had fallen, the mountain streams had frozen into grotesque stalactites, and snow was banked around the house. Keep in mind the valley, very deep and narrow and blue. A square clapboarded house beside a shallow river — a dot and a dash of reflected sunlight breaking the monotony of pine-tree tops. A group of people — a sick woman with three grown daughters, a husband, a brother, a friend or two. A man waiting for news brought by post-riders and Indian runners, watching the shadows creep up and down the valley's frozen walls. A man, scolded and nagged by a sickly woman, conducting a dangerous intrigue, dreaming dreams of absolute metaphysical freedom, and drinking rum.

Early in January, 1783, Ethan received word from Luke Knoulton, the Tory proprietor of Newfane, that soldiers were on their way from Albany to arrest him. Soon afterwards, his father-in-law, Colonel Wells, and

he arrived in Sunderland. Ethan immediately went to the Governor and got passes for them to go to Canada. Meanwhile, a platoon of soldiers with a wagon loaded with ammunition and provisions arrived in Arlington. The next morning they reached Sunderland and stopped at Ethan's for breakfast. They told him they were looking for deserters. Needless to say, he did not disclose the names of his other guests, who, as soon as possible, slipped out and made their way to Canada. Knoulton informed General Haldimand:

Genl Allen coincides with me in opinion that sending Continental Troops into Vermont to take certain persons is that they might be opposed and so make it a Continental Cause; and that Vermont may well be alarmed and guard against such policy. I am particularly desired by Genl Allen to mention this, that your Excellency may be fully satisfied that his situation is very Critical and furthermore he Desired me to make some Apology for him that he did not write oftener and more Explicit; And gave me the strongest assurances that he was sincerely attached to the British Government; when I informed him that Govr. Clinton by Information had solemnly promised that if Congress did not settle the matter Relative to Vermont, in January he would march with a force himself in February and would subdue Vermont or lose his life; he said he was not afraid to fight Clinton & all the troops he could raise within his Government if he had a sufficient quantity of powder for his Men.

This hint of a request for powder troubled the General because he had received implicit orders from home, forbidding offensive measures against the Americans. As Matthews informed Sherwood,

he anticipates the pain he would feel on refusing a request they will think no more than reasonable.

Meanwhile, Ethan had gone down to Poughkeepsie

to try to find out for himself what Governor Clinton was up to. He sent a letter from there to Sherwood and Smythe, telling them he expected Vermont to be invaded by the Continental army, but hoped the attempt might be 'procrastinated till the ice is out of the Lake.' Days were already growing longer — the ice looked pretty thin, in places. It may be that young Terence Smythe carried this letter to St. John's. At any rate, shortly afterwards, he sent word to Matthews:

The Governor of the State of Vermont and General Allen requested of me that I would inform His Excellency the Commander in Chief of ye Hazard they run on account of our scouts being suffered to enter so far into that State and beg that His Excellency will in future suffer them to inroach no farther than the first inhabitants. They informed me that several of our scouts has been at Public dances in Arlington next door to the Governor's and there is now one Holleburt there recruiting who they are apprehensive of his doing some mischief as he is much given to drink.

At about daylight one morning near the middle of February, a friend of Ethan's reached him with word that a hundred sleighs were on their way north either to surprise the British posts on the Lake or to make a raid into Vermont. Ethan immediately mustered the militia, at the same time dispatching Savage, one of the British scouts who happened to be on hand, to St. John's, to warn the officers at that post. But nothing seems to have come of the impending raid, except to bring out the fact that Ethan was suffering, a little bit, from 'nerves.' Soon after this, Captain Wright, another of the scouts, brought him a message from Sherwood which indicated that he was a trifle frightened, too. When Wright returned to St. John's, he reported that Ethan

was afraid to write anything on account of the York scouts

but that he wanted General Haldimand to know

the Vermonters rely wholly on his Excellency to represent them in such a manner to the King, that they may be considered as his Majesty's Government in a general peace, as they are determined they will never voluntarily unite with the American states.

To this Sherwood replied that he was instructed by Haldimand to say that he would continue to do everything in his power for the Vermonters (as he had done in the past), though he believed that the opportunity for restoring to them 'the blessings of a British Government' had been lost. The letter, as Ira commented, in his history,

under the circumstances it was written, shews the generous conduct of General Haldimand, in the course of these negotiations, and a friendly liberality in cautioning the people of Vermont to be on their guard for new events. The facts are, that these negotiations, on the part of Vermont, were from necessity, as has already been shewn; on the part of the British, they were to carry into effect the object of the war; from different motives those measures were carried on in such ways as the parties could agree for their mutual interest, on the strictest principles of honor; and when peace was proclaimed, impressions of friendship remained between the parties, as several interviews between General Haldimand and Colonel Ira Allen afterwards fully evinced.

As a matter of fact, before peace had been declared, Ira was writing to Sherwood and Knoulton, asking them to procure him a loan of a thousand guineas at six per cent. Out of the lands he would buy with it, he promised them each a good farm. The Onion River Company was under way again.

CHAPTER XXXII

WHICH CONTAINS PEACE AND WAR, DEATH AND LOVE

THE 19th of April, 1783, was the date chosen by Washington to proclaim the cessation of hostilities. Ethan celebrated the event by going on a party the night before.

Leaving Mary and the girls at Sunderland, he went to Manchester. He was not a man given to concrete speculation — his dreams dwelled, more often, on the ultimate and fanciful; but as he rode through the fresh spring woods, watching the morning shadow creep down Mount Equinox, he evidently tried to figure out what had happened, tried to get his bearings. Politically, the future was not bright for him. Everybody knew, by now, that he had favored Great Britain — but Great Britain had lost. Perhaps he sensed the paradox of the Haldimand Negotiation: through the relations with the Canadians, Ethan and his lieutenants had kept the Canadian army idle and immensely helped the cause of the United States, but, in appearance, they had backed the wrong horse. There would be new young men in the Assembly who regarded him as the most outspoken advocate of the Haldimand policy, and failed to realize what his apostasy had done for Vermont.

Neither the archives nor the high blue mountains have divulged the names of Ethan's companions on the Manchester trip, but he, himself, put the party on record by writing a letter, during the evening, to Justus Sherwood and Luke Knoulton, headed

At a Tavern at Manchester, half over seas, the 18th of April 1783.

It reads:

The sudden alteration of political matters in America makes it needless for me to expatiate on policy. The die is cast, the peace is taken place and the United States are acknowledged independent of Great Britain. How Vermont as a body politic or as individuals will fare, time and future scenes must determine.

In the meantime, I assure you that Vermont are determined not to unite or confederate with Congress. At all events they keep an eye on the accumulated debt, and good people are flocking into the State. But our enemies are busie and so are our friends, which will produce something by and by, I have verbally sent unto you by Savage Esqr. and by the bearer.

The scene is changed and Vermont must do as well as she can and in the mene time feel the highest obligations to their friends and will not confederate with Congress come on what will but will be Independent of Independency.

The verbal message which Savage took to Sherwood evidently had to do with real estate. Ethan wanted him to encourage the loyalists in Canada, who did not choose to return to the Colonies, to settle 'in the northern parts of Vermont.' He said that the 'private cabinet of Vermont' would give them every encouragement. What he did not say was that 'the private cabinet of Vermont' consisted, a good deal of the time, of himself, Ira, and Thomas Chittenden, who, in their own name or that of the Onion River Company, controlled all of the land available for settling in 'the northern parts of Vermont.' The plan would, as Ethan pointed out to Savage, strengthen the Tory party in Vermont — but it would also strengthen the

coffers of the Company. Ethan was, clearly, not more than 'half over seas.'

In fact, in the morning, he remembered the plan, and, without delay, rode down to Arlington to tell Chittenden about it. They decided to take a tour to Onion River to look the situation over for themselves, and, happening to meet a man named Adams, who was on his way to St. John's, they asked him to tell Sherwood that they would send a canoe to St. John's as soon as they reached Onion River, and would like to see him to discuss 'some political subjects.' Ethan added

that he really believed the war would break out again, in which case Vermont would immediately and publicly refuse to take any active part until a favorable opportunity should present for the King, that in the meantime, he . . . thought it would be good policy to crowd on to their frontiers as many settlers from the other states as possible who would all readily take arms for that party which Vermont should espouse.

A policy which would be splendid for the King, and not at all bad for the Onion River Company.

The rest of the 'private cabinet,' Ira and Joseph Fay, were on hand, and together they tried to figure out which way the wind was blowing. For years they had all been too busy with the Intrigue to attend to private affairs, but now it came to them that the time was ripe for a nice round speculation and their contact with the top officials in Canada might come in handy in a business way. Accordingly, they sent David Fay, armed with letters of introduction from Ethan and Ira, to St. John's, to see what he could do. Ethan wrote:

I have of late been apprehensive that a quantity of fresh beef would be agreeable to the Kings Troops under your Excellencies Command, which may soon be procured

in these parts. By the 10th of July young Cattle will be tolerable beef, and the late settlement of the War I suppose will admit of a free trade.

And, in due time, Ira and Joseph took the cattle down to St. John's and sold them at the market price, returning by way of Onion River, so as to meet Ethan and the Governor there.

But Ethan was not there. Mary's coughing spells and pains had at last confined her to her bed. Like many other pioneer women, she died of consumption before she was fifty. Her death, like her life, was quiet, unimportant except to her immediate family. To the last she clung to her fervent piety in spite of its failure to alleviate her suffering or deter Ethan's scoffing. With Christ-begotten dreams she had tried to forget her life, loveless, neglected, and lonely, punctuated only by childbirth, hard work, and physical suffering. In the end, death must have been as welcome to herself as to her family. She was buried in the Sunderland burial-ground across the Batten Kill from the house in which she had lived. Some verses (attributed to Ethan) appeared in the 'Vermont Gazette,' but were never inscribed on her gravestone — which still stands in the Sunderland graveyard, as unremembered as the life which it marks.

I do not believe that Ethan wrote the sentimental verses which appeared in the 'Gazette,' but there is evidence that he felt Mary's death. For instance, a few days afterwards he sold her brother Gideon a right on the Two Heroes for one shilling, whereas his customary price was forty or fifty pounds. Perhaps he believed that this act of generosity to Mary's brother would atone for having neglected her during her life.

Since the declaration of peace, the real estate business had been booming. During the year 1783, Ethan closed at least nine deals. As mentioned, he sold rights for forty or fifty pounds, while at the same time he was buying them for six or seven. It must have been a great relief to be a successful business man again instead of a suspected intriguer.

In October, the Assembly met at Westminster and Ethan attended by the request of the Governor and Council. This was the first time he had done so since the attempt to impeach him. He did not serve on any committees, but when word was received that some Yorkers had captured Luke Knoulton at his house in Newfane and carried him off to Massachusetts, Ethan was commissioned to raise a hundred men and rescue Luke. The mere threat of such a thing seems to have been enough to induce the Yorkers to release their prisoner. Nevertheless, Ethan returned to Bennington to raise men there while Colonel Fletcher arrested some of the ringleaders in Windham County. Early in January, the Yorkers retaliated by attacking Commissary-General Farnsworth's headquarters in Josiah Arms's tavern at Brattleboro. On receiving the news, Ethan hurried to the spot with his recruits, only to learn that Stephen Bradley had already captured or dispersed the obstinate Yorkers. So Ethan sent most of his army home, keeping only a detachment to conduct the prisoners to the jail at Westminster and guard them until their trial.

Stephen Bradley had built a house facing the street (there was only one street in Westminster: there still is), just north of the court-house. It was one of those fine, square, solid houses which has all the best furniture in a best room which nobody ever uses. It had in

fact so many rooms that Stephen had to take in boarders.

Crean Brush, an Irish lawyer and adventurer, had accumulated sixty thousand acres of Vermont land before he committed suicide in Boston. His estate, divided in thirds, was left to his wife, his daughter (by a former marriage), and his stepdaughter. His wife (now married to Patrick Wall, her third husband and second Irishman) and Fanny, her daughter, came to Westminster to locate their lands, and lodged in some of Stephen Bradley's spare rooms.

Fanny's father, Captain Montresor, was a French officer of the British army. From him she had inherited delicate features, a sensitive, vivacious nature: from her stepfather, Brush, twenty thousand acres.

Fanny's mother was a forceful woman. I believe she survived all three husbands. She forced her child to marry, at sixteen, a British officer named Buchanan. It is said that he loved her tenderly, but that she was repelled by his affection. She bore him a son, but the child never saw its father, for he was killed in action before his son was born.

At twenty-four, Fanny was a widow, an heiress, and a beautiful girl. In the histories she is always referred to as 'a dashing woman.' With her forceful mother and a wardrobe of New York clothes, she dashed into Westminster, into Brush's acres, into Stephen Bradley's spare rooms, and simply overwhelmed the natives. They talked about her 'imperious manner,' and waited, cold winter days, to see her dash by in a fresh-painted 'pung.'

The Assembly met. Ethan came to town. Stephen gave parties. Ethan did not serve on committees. The Yorkers kidnaped Luke Knoulton. Ethan put on

his uniform, mounted his charger, looked ferocious, and frightened the Yorkers away.

There was in this town a tavern-keeper named John Norton, one of those unfathomable fellows who seem to understand people's secrets without being told and to attract customers by telling them the disparaging truth. To Fanny he said: 'If you marry General Allen, you will be queen of a new state.' And she replied; 'If I should marry the devil, I'd be queen of Hell.'

On the morning of the 9th of February, 1784, while Stephen Bradley was entertaining the judges of the Superior Court at breakfast, he heard the bells of a sleigh stopping at his door, and a moment later saw Ethan entering the room. The judges invited him to join them, but he replied that he had breakfasted at Norton's and, while they were finishing, would step across the hall and see the ladies.

Fanny, dressed in a morning gown, was standing on a chair arranging a china closet when Ethan opened the door. With a cracked decanter in her hand, she turned around on the chair and greeted the intruder by telling him that people didn't make calls so early in the morning. He explained that military duties had brought him to Westminster and that he was on his way to Sunderland. So, he added, 'If we are to be married, now is the time.' She put the decanter back on the shelf, descended from the chair, and then replied: 'Very well, but give me time to put on my Joseph.'

A few minutes later, they crossed the hall and found the judges, still sitting at the breakfast table, smoking their long pipes. With Fanny on his arm, Ethan walked up to his old friend Moses Robinson and said: 'Judge Robinson, this young woman and myself have concluded to marry each other and to have you per-



MRS. PATRICK WALL
Mother of Mrs. Ethan Allen



FANNY WALL
Mrs. Ethan Allen

form the ceremony.' 'When?' asked Moses, somewhat surprised. 'Now,' replied Ethan; continuing: 'For myself I have no great opinion of such formality, and from what I can discover, she thinks as little of it as I do. But as a decent respect for the opinions of mankind seems to require it, you will proceed.' Moses said: 'General, this is an important matter. Have you given it serious consideration?' 'Certainly,' Ethan replied, glancing at Fanny. 'But I do not think it requires much consideration.'

The ceremony then proceeded until Moses asked Ethan whether he promised to live with Fanny 'agreeable to the laws of God.' At this Ethan stopped the proceedings. Then, looking out of the window, he exclaimed: 'The law of God as written in the great book of nature? Yes. Go on.' When the ceremony was completed and Fanny's trunk and guitar case were stowed in the back of the sleigh, Ethan wrapped his bride in the big bear rug and they drove off across the mountains.

CHAPTER XXXIII

NATURAL AND PROPRIETARY RIGHTS

So Ethan brought his bride to Sunderland. Afterwards, they must have often reminded each other of that drive, the sting of the wind on their cheeks, the jangling sleigh bells, the scratching of the runners in icy ruts, the thump of snow falling from the outstretched pine limbs, the steaming horses, the blue shadows on the hills, the funny icicles, the excitement, the sad moaning of the wind in leafless trees, the warm house and hot toddies. With all her imperious ways, Fanny was clever enough to flatter her stepdaughters (almost as old as herself) into liking her, make friends with Brother Ira, and even smile at John Knickerbocker's jokes. She probably showed the girls her New York clothes, played the guitar to Ira, and listened to Ethan's theory of the attributes of God. It is certainly clear that he got busy, right away, to find a publisher for his book.

Aided by the State, Haswell and Russell had set up a press in Bennington where they printed a weekly called the 'Gazette' as well as such State papers as came to them from time to time. They agreed to print fifteen hundred copies of Ethan's book, to be paid for as the work progressed. It soon developed that it was going to be slow and expensive. Though Ethan continued to trade in real estate, he realized that this was not bringing in enough money to pay the printers' bills. So he sent John Knickerbocker to Albany to try to raise a loan, secured by Onion River land, and finally sold his interest in the Sun-

derland house to Ira. He went to board at Timothy Follett's in Bennington, where he could keep close watch on the printing and proof-reading. When it was finished, he wanted to retire to Onion River to cultivate the land, dream dreams, put his philosophy into practice, and adore Fanny. He wrote to Ira in August

My positive determination is to move to my farm at Onion River as soon as possible and there fore send you the exact dimensions of the House I purpose early in the spring to build that you may without fail git the Bords Sawed accordingly that they may be Seasoned as much as possible. I have plan'd the House 34 by 24 two story High which plan I will not depart from. Early in the Spring I determined to be personally on the premises with the Workmen and provision suitable to Compleat the little Building with all Expedition and Desire you to procure me some provision and money if Possible. If you Lock out and Lay in in Season you may effect something for me which on a Sudden you cannot. Do not think that I will change my scheme for the Decree is gone fourth therefore let the Boards and provisions be in readines From the Philosopher.

On the 13th of November, a boy was born to Fanny. Ethan named his son Hannibal Montresor. Jonas Fay attended his friend's wife, while Ethan was preparing an open letter to the readers of the 'Gazette,' intended to vindicate the Haldimand policy and to keep in office his friend Thomas Chittenden as well as Brother Ira — who was, at the moment, in Canada, trying to establish a market for his Onion River products. This was to be Ethan's last statement to the people of Vermont, and, like his political career, it concluded with eloquent irony:

I would by no means debar the populace of talking and plotting in politics, for this would deprive them of a great

share of their happiness and importance; but I would not have them complain of their benefactors nor alter the measures of their superiors. The Foreign Policy of this Government has been demonstrated to be good in the final consequence of it, and the State is in good and respectable condition at present. It only remains that our courts of equity and law do impartial justice, and that our citizens support the honor and dignity of our laws and unitedly combine to support our liberty and independency.

This might be pointed out as one of the rare occasions on which a demagogue, addressing the people, told the whole truth. Perhaps Ethan knew it was to be his last speech. Chittenden and Ira were reelected, and Ethan turned his attention to the book. Later in the winter, he was writing to James Caldwell, an Albany merchant:

My system of philosophy is nearly half printed and the printers have proposed to me, to take goods for their pay; I therefore take the liberty of proposing a trade with you, to the amount of one hundred and fifty pounds lawful money, on terms of six, or eight months credit, in which time I presume the Books will turn to money, to make remittance to you for the goods; besides I have considerable money due to me within that time. You will please to consider my proposition and act in the premises as may be consistent with your schemes of Trade.

Perhaps the Albany merchant did not want to speculate in literature. At any rate, in May, as soon as the roads were dry, Ethan rode to Philadelphia and commuted the pay due him from the Continental Service. On the way home he spent some time in New York City. Perhaps Fanny had come along to buy some clothes and to introduce her new husband to her old friends. Whether or not this is how it happened,

Ethan became acquainted with Hector Saint-John de Crèvecoeur, the French Consul-General, a fanciful, poetic man, who liked Ethan at first meeting and was charmed by the stories he told — pretty magnificent stories, if they may be judged by what de Crèvecoeur later wrote about Vermont. When Ethan left town his new friend sent him a long letter offering to have the Vermont Seal 'elegantly engraved on silver by the King's best engravers and to change somewhat the devices thereof.' He also asked for anecdotes and maps of Vermont, and suggested that the Vermonters name some of their new towns after French statesmen, such as Vergennes, and asked that he and his three children might be naturalized citizens of Vermont.

Leaving New York the 30th of May, 1785, Ethan returned to Bennington, read some proofs, sold some land, appeared as defendant in a lawsuit, arranged with Stephen Bradley to sell the lots Fanny had inherited in Westminster, returned to New York with Ira, made a deal with a lawyer named John Kelly to buy the holdings of the Bogart family in Jericho, and was back in Vermont by the 12th of August. On that day, a certain Joseph Hamilton reached him in Sunderland and presented him with twelve proprietary rights in the Susquehanna Company, with the compliments of the management.

This company had been organized by a group of Connecticut men to settle the Wyoming Valley in northern Pennsylvania. Ethan's father, Joseph, was one of the original proprietors. A situation had arisen almost exactly analogous to that of Vermont. The Connecticut settlers considered their settlement a part of Connecticut, but their Pennsylvania neighbors insisted it was Pennsylvania. As in Vermont, there were

double land grants and bloody encounters between the rival claimants.

Ethan's reputation for maintaining Vermont's sovereignty against unbelievable odds was so great that, as a last resort, the management of the Susquehanna Company called on him to rescue it, sending him, as an inducement, the twelve rights, with promises of more. Ethan accepted the rights, and, a few days later, sent Levi to Connecticut with a letter for W. S. Johnson, director of the Company, announcing:

I have agreed with the Committee of the Susquehanna Proprietors to speedily repair to Wyoming with a small detachment of green Mountain Boys to Vindicate (it appears to me practicable) the right of soil of those proprietors to that territory, whatever may be the legal decision relative to the jurisdiction.

He asked Johnson to let him know whether the State of Pennsylvania was likely to take the matter up or whether the quarrel over the property of the lands was not between 'certain gentlemen of wealth and influence in that State' and the Susquehanna proprietors, and if so, whether they had enough influence with the Legislature to get it to send troops to dispossess the Connecticut settlers. He added:

My policy will be to publish propositions of amity with the government provided the Legislature will guarantee to the settlers and proprietors of the Susquehanna purchase their right of soil to the disputed territory which I know they will not do, good offers is apt to make friends in Pennsylvania and divide them and give me a better plea in the Eyes of the world to oppose the exercise of their oppressive government in dispossessing the Settlers with the sword.

Apparently Levi brought back an encouraging letter. Later in the fall, Ethan sent a message to Colo-

nel Butler, chieftain of the Susquehanna settlement promising 'to make a tour to your hostile ground next spring.' He added:

What a lawyer may suppose to be law, in this case, I will not determine, but I think, that as Connecticut charter, which expressly covers the disputed territory, is eighteen years older than that to Sir William Penn; and as we have a bona fide purchase from the Indian original proprietors, and been in the possession of it twenty-five years last past, and through the late revolution, been an out post, and guard, to Pennsylvania, the right of soil, of right, belongs to the Susquehanna company. If this is not a sufficiently authentic, and legal title, it is in vain for mankind to ever acquire one, to any lands whatever, Probably the Justice of our claim, will have but little or no effect, on our haughty antagonists, who seek our lands and labours, it may nevertheless inspire us, to defend our rights, with great zeal & fortitude, and serve to make us friends abroad, particularly in Congress, and justify our opposition, even to blood.

I hope that Congress will finally adjudge the right of soil, to the Sisquehannah Company, but whether they do or not, it is good policy to soliset for it, and in the meantime, crowd your settlements, add to your numbers and strength; procure fire-arms, and amunition, be united among yourselves. I hope to see you, face to face, next spring, nor will I give up my interest, to usurpers, without trying it out by force of arms; if we have not fortitude enough to face danger, in a good cause; we are cowards indeed, and must in consequence of it, be slaves and our posterity, to Penemitish land thieves. Liberty & Property; or slavery and poverty; are now before us, and our Wisdom and fortitude, or Timidity, and folly, must terminate the matter.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE EPAULETTES ARE PACKED AWAY

So Ethan waited for spring. While snow was on the ground, the farmers drew logs, put up ice, and fed flocks from harvest-filled barns, but Ethan, boarding at Timothy Follett's, had none of these to do. He was free to drive across the hills, in his pung, with Fanny beside him, showing her Mount Zion which he had climbed on the way to Ticonderoga, the lookouts of the old Green Mountain Boys, and the deer runs which he had watched on his first trip north. Meanwhile, the book was on the press and its author (surely this is true) spent many hours watching the work and going over the proofs as they were ready.

The printers finally moved into new quarters, and, from then on, the work on the book advanced with some consistency until completed late in the year. Ethan presented the first copy to come from the press to Fanny, inscribing, on the title-page, these lines:

Dear Fanny wise, the beautiful and young,
The partner of my joys, my dearest self,
My love, pride of my life, your sexes pride,
And partner of Sincere politeness,
To thee a welcome compliment I make
Of treasures rich, the Oracles of Reason.

The book was received just about as one might expect: the free-thinkers were enthusiastic, the skeptics amused, and the clergy furious. Ethan sent copies to Stephen Bradley in Westminster, Benjamin Stiles in Woodbury, and Saint-John de Crèvecoeur in Paris —

Ethan Allen was born the 21
of Jan'y 1739 and Fanny
Allen his wife was born
the 4th of April 1760.~
and were married the 16th
of February 1784.~

This Book is a present from the
Author to his Lady

Dear Fanny wife, the beautiful
and young,
The partner of my joys, my dearest
self,
My love, pride of my life, your
face's pride,
And patron of sincere politeness,
To thee a welcome compliment
I make,
Of treasures rich, the oracles of
reason.~

THE INSCRIPTION IN THE COPY OF HIS 'REASON THE
ONLY ORACLE OF MAN' THAT ETHAN ALLEN GAVE
HIS WIFE

who undoubtedly read the book and circulated it among their friends. A copy reached Goshen and created so much interest in that town that a group of people delegated Ephraim Starr to write to Ethan and find out if he would send them a few copies in return for goods from Ephraim's store, as they had no cash. But a great many copies were destroyed in a fire in Haswell's garret — an event which the pious regarded as a direct manifestation of Divine disfavor.

The 'Oracles' became known as 'Ethan Allen's Bible.' The book, if not a financial success, at least gave its author the satisfaction of starting controversies and calling forth fervent replies. A pious, though anonymous, gentleman, who signed himself 'Ethan Nomatterwho, Philanthropos,' wrote a series of letters admonishing the wicked Ethan. And Dr. Lemuel Hopkins, of Hartford, inserted an advertisement in the 'Vermont Gazette':

Just imported in the Balloon Sarcastic (Imported from France) and now opening for sale . . . by the Genius of Vermont at her store on the top of Mount Anthony in Bennington, a large assortment of valuable books, among which are the following . . . Deism Confessed and Good Manners Defended, with a chapter in favor of Oracles and a section on the heat of good blood near the grand clymacterice, and the animation of youthful charms. By E. A.

And a sequel to be entitled:

The Pleasant Art of Money Catching Reduced to Practise.
I. A.

Likewise another correspondent inserted a long letter, reputed to come from Lord George Gordon (the mad Lord of Dickens's 'Barnaby Rudge'), thanking Ethan for offering to dedicate the book to him, but modestly

pointing out that the honor should be conferred upon the Grand Mogul, who would undoubtedly incorporate the system of the 'Oracles' into the Mohammedan faith.

The clergy of the land (Ezra Stiles, Timothy Dwight, Lemuel Hopkins, Lemuel Haynes, Nathan Perkins) attacked Ethan from the pulpit and in their printed works, while early historians and biographers apologized for his lapse of faith. But J. E. Henry, the historian of Arnold's 'Quebec Campaign,' observed, that

long after the publication of Allen's book, which had fallen into oblivion, even with its readers, that vile reprobate, Thomas Paine . . . filched from Ethan Allen the great body of his deistical and atheistical opinions, which from the time of Celsus, down to the age of Chubb Tindal and others, have been so often refuted by men of the utmost respectability of character.

With all the excitement of bringing out a book, Ethan did not forget his promise to go to Wyoming Valley in the spring. In 1786 there were early thaws, long days of sunshine in March which metamorphosed the mountain snow-fields into lively torrents tumbling with wild laughter down from the hills. By the 6th of April the highways were passable. That day Ethan settled his board bill at Timothy Follett's, kissed Fanny good-bye, mounted a fresh-shod horse, and rode west.

Evidently he was wearing 'regimentals,' gold braid and epaulettes, a cocked hat and sword. His presence alone, the magnificent pageant of his uniform, his blooded horse, his stern, splendid countenance, his reputation, were going to do more for the 'cause' than whole battalions of arguments. He must have appreciated the flattery of being regarded as the champion

defender of 'rights,' of being called in as a last resort instead of a lawyer — instead of an army — to help people out of tight places.

At Hudson he visited Dr. Joseph Hamilton, who had brought the proprietors' rights to Sunderland the summer before, and who now supplied him with a letter of introduction to Butler, Franklin, and the other Wyoming chieftains, explaining that this seemed to be the 'most political' time for Jack to appear and frighten away the Giant. The Doctor added a request that Ethan be supplied 'on public cost (if necessary)' with every comfort and convenience while on the field of battle.

His appearance seems to have caused something of a sensation in the Wyoming Valley. When he arrived, a whole flock of letters was dispatched by loyal Pennsylvanian spies to their principals in Philadelphia. Now, they proclaimed, almost anything might happen. But particularly, wild as it might seem, there was a movement to carve a new State out of northern Pennsylvania and part of New York, extending to the forty-second degree of latitude — just like the one Ethan had already carved out of New Hampshire and New York.

After looking over the land with his real estate expert's eye and enormously encouraging the Connecticut settlers (as well as frightening the Pennsylvanians) by his mere presence, Ethan, accompanied by John Franklin, went to Hartford to attend a sort of directors' meeting of the Susquehanna Company. He was appointed to serve on a committee with Franklin, Butler, and Major John Jenkins, to locate townships and settle claims at Wyoming. At the same time he had a chance to talk things over with a certain Mr. Hudson

who was suing him for payment of an overdue note (probably borrowed to pay printers' bills in expectation that the sales of the book would be sufficient to take care of it), payable, as was the custom, in 'neat' cattle.

Reaching Bennington early in June, Ethan immediately sent instructions to his lawyer, Stephen Bradley, of Westminster, to get in touch with Hudson's lawyer, Smith, arrange to make a payment on the note and procure an extension of time for the balance. As Ethan pointed out,

You may better do it with him than drive the Cattle across the mountain. I wholly rely on you to settle the matter. In a short time (a few days) I shall advance to the Hostile Ground.

However, Ethan did not 'advance to the Hostile Ground' in a few days. On the 21st he wrote again to Bradley, saying:

Several reasons have conspired to procrastinate my returning to Wyoming. My 'Only begotten son' has been very sick of the Hooping Cough but past the worst and is recovering fast and secondly Congress have accepted of the session of Connecticut a large territory of lands in their western claim beyond the Susquehanna purchase for the use of the united States which virtually terminates the right of soil of the Susquehanna to belong to the Settlers a favorable event to me and other adventurers and settlers besides Pennsylvania have beat up for volunteers since my arrival at Wyoming for the avowed purpose of subjecting us to their government and dispossessing us of the Country and have failed in the attempt. However I purpose to set out for Wyoming in a few days and wholly confide in your Honour that you will settle the Hartford debt which as I have already wrote you Judgement is obtained against me. Squire Smith has the care of the matter and is desirous to favour me or you as far as he can

REASON
THE ONLY
ORACLE OF MAN,
OR A
Compenduous System
OF
Natural RELIGION.

Alternately ADORNED with Confutations
of a variety of DOCTRINES
incompatible to it;

Deduced from the most exalted Ideas which
we are able to form of the

DIVINE and Human
CHARACTERS,
AND FROM THE
Universe in General.

By Ethan Allen, *Esq.*

BENNINGTON:
STATE OF VERMONT;
Printed by HASWELL & RUSSELL.
M,DCC,LXXXIV.

consistent with duty as an attorney. He tells me however that he expects that you will shortly either settle the debt with Hudson or come and do it with him at Bennington. This I rely on you will do and any trouble you are at in effecting the same I expect to allow you in our settlement. Pray do not fail me.

For some reason, Ethan stayed on at Bennington until the beginning of August. It is possible that Fanny objected to his taking these long trips for the fun of frightening Pennsylvanians. Meanwhile (according to an accepted tradition), Bradley, in order to procure a continuance, determined to deny the signature of the note. The attesting witness lived in Boston, and, as he could not possibly be produced in time, a continuance would be inevitable. When the case was called, Ethan happened to be present, and, to his astonishment, he heard his lawyer gravely deny the signature of the note. With long strides he made his way through the crowd, and confronting the amazed attorney, rebuked him in a voice of thunder:

Mr. Bradley, I did not hire you to come here and lie. That is a true note; I signed it, I'll swear to it, and I'll pay it. I want no shuffling, but I want time. What I employed you for was to get this business put over to the next Court, not to come here and lie and juggle about it.

Needless to say the Vermont judges granted the continuance to their favorite hero.

There are many indications of Ethan being hard up at this time. Though he could point to substantial paper profits on his thousands of acres of land, there was so little 'hard money' in the Confederacy and Continental money had depreciated so far that it was almost impossible to realize profits or even borrow money — a fact which may explain his willingness to

perform for the Susquehannans. He went as far as Litchfield to sell a Charlotte farm to Charles McNeil, and, a little later, returning to Sunderland, wrote to Ira (who was at Onion River, busy developing mills and mines):

I am drove almost to death for money. . . . I have not a copper of money to save me from the Devil. We are rich poor cursed rascals by God, alter our measures or we shall be a hiss, a proverb, and a bye word and derision upon earth.

In spite of lawsuits, whooping cough, shortage of cash, and (undoubtedly) Fanny's protests, Ethan finally returned to the 'Hostile Ground.' His arrival seems to have caused even more of a sensation than in the spring. Accompanied by Butler and somebody named Solomon Strong, he rode through the Susquehanna settlements, dressed, of course, like a comic-opera admiral, and, stopping wherever people gathered, harangued them on their natural rights and the wickedness of Pennsylvanians. His words bore the authority of conviction and epaulettes.

On the way home Ethan visited the springs of New Lebanon, where he met Ezra Stiles, the president of Yale, who went back to New Haven incensed by Ethan's disrespect for theology.

Reaching Vermont, he went to spend the winter in Sunderland. Now that the printing work was over, there was nothing to keep him in Bennington. Except for the Fays and a few others, most of the Benningtonites were unfriendly — and their righteous hostility had not been diminished by the publication of the 'Oracles.'

There are indications that, this winter, Ethan and his brothers were still land poor. As they were too

fundamentally clannish to take misunderstandings seriously, Levi, the prodigal, had, long since, been taken back into the fold, and was at this time stationed at St. John's, whither Ira forwarded rafts of lumber, ashes, pork, beef, etc., from Onion River to be consigned to Quebec and Montreal. At the same time Ethan may have sent wheat and cheese across the ice from Sunderland, but he was evidently mostly concerned with getting his affairs into shape so that he could move to Onion River or to Wyoming in the spring. A certain 'little Armstrong' brought an action against him on a note for 'ninety odd pound York money.' Apparently Levi was in touch with Armstrong, for in January, 1787, Ethan sent word to his brother by 'Monseir Peter Sharlong' to procure a discharge from Armstrong.

At this time, in Massachusetts, to the south, money was so scarce and taxes so high that the poor, led by a giant Irishman named Daniel Shays, rebelled. They set up Committees of Correspondence exactly as the rebels, from whom they were in turn rebelling, had done fifteen years before. In January, 1787, Shays with an army of one thousand men attacked the arsenal at Springfield, but when a few of his men had been killed or wounded, his army started to 'retire' and did not stop until what was left of it had crossed the Vermont line.

General Lincoln with the Massachusetts militia followed to the border and then sent Lieutenant Royall Tyler to Bennington to ask the Vermonters to return their unexpected guests. Before presenting his case, he sent a spy ahead to ascertain the attitude of the leading men. Returning, the spy reported that both Chittenden and Ethan favored the rebels, and

that the latter, in his presence, remarked that those who held the reins of government in Massachusetts were 'a pack of damned rascals' and that he did not think it worth anybody's while to try to prevent the fugitives 'from cutting down our maple trees.' Nevertheless, Lieutenant Tyler proceeded to Bennington and succeeded in inducing the Governor to issue a proclamation prohibiting the citizens of Vermont from harboring Shays or three of his lieutenants, Luke Day, Adam Wheeler, and Eli Parsons.

Ethan had laid Saint-John de Crèvecoeur's letters before the Assembly, which, flattered by his solicitations, passed an act declaring him and his three children citizens of Vermont and at the same time named a city 'De Vergennesburgh' and a town, 'St. Johnsbury.' Accordingly, Ethan was appointed to inform him of these decrees — to take a final curtain call as Vermont's Public Relations Counsel. To the subject matter of the letter, Ethan added:

Our Country is situated in a good wholesome climate, our soil produces richly of every kind of the groth of North America, our settlement by Emigration from other States & from Urope is very rapid — The wealth of the State increases fast & in fine our present Government is the best & most regular & freed from debt of any part of America — Science increases very fast, institutions of learning is much encouraged, a college will soon be erected within this State, your offering a Seal, a privy seat & seal of the State is considered as marks of great generosity and do not fail to be held in the most grateful remembrance.

Perhaps creating word pictures of Vermont influenced Ethan to reject the plan of abandoning it and going to live in Wyoming Valley. It is also to be suspected that Fanny wanted her hero to give up going to

wars and that he was too fond of her to fight against her wishes. There is, however, a tradition which indicates that he was not, even now, in complete subjection. One night, it seems, he came home tight. When Fanny rebuked him, he denied the charge. The next morning she remarked, 'I will find out whether you come home drunk or sober.' Thereupon she drove a nail — pretty well up — in the wall of the bedroom, saying: 'When your watch is hanging on that nail in the morning, I shall know that you came home sober.' Ethan agreed — of course — but he found it rather a difficult job to prove his good behavior by this severe test. Sometimes the nail would dodge him and the watch ring hit one side. When he tried again, the floor would give way or his knees get out of joint, but he would stick to it until the ring was hooked. If Fanny had anything to say in the morning, he would point his finger at the watch, saying: 'You see, I came home sober last night.'

By the time Mount Equinox had lost its snow crust and trout were breaking in the Roaring Branch, Ethan had made up his mind. On the 1st of May, Ira's birthday, the two brothers signed an agreement, partitioning the Onion River Company's lands. In return for a thousand-acre farm in Burlington and lumber for the house he had planned, Ethan relinquished four hundred acres surrounding each of Ira's mills (at the falls of the river). The latter also agreed to furnish Ethan goods to the value of one hundred pounds from the Onion River store on the 1st of August every year for seven years. Perhaps this indicates that Ethan, whose health was breaking, did not expect to live longer than that. John Knickerbocker, the clerk, and Mary Ann, Ethan's daughter, witnessed the agree-

ment, at Sunderland. The little office, between the house and the river, had served its purpose.

Just when Ethan was ready to start for Burlington, his exodus was unexpectedly interrupted. Daniel Shays, it seems, was trying to revive his rebellion. He knew that Ethan sympathized with him and that Ethan was the champion strong-arm man of the vicinity — of the world, perhaps. So Shays sent Day and Parsons to Ethan with an invitation to command their army and be king of Massachusetts when they had conquered it. But Ethan's mind was on other things. Passing up, for the first time in his life, an opportunity to wear his epaulettes and fight, he contemptuously rejected the advances of the Irishmen. He afterwards told a friend from Massachusetts that he 'heartily despised both them and their cause.' Further, he immediately sent word to Colonel Simmons, of the Massachusetts militia, that the 'malcontents' were forming unlawful associations in Vermont whose government was taking

the most effectual measures to prevent the mischievous consequences which may be consequent thereon; your people may do well in the meantime to take care of private murders.

Ethan had come to see that the insurgents didn't stand a chance. But it should be mentioned that much as he loved gold braid and battles he had never fought or conspired for a cause in which he did not sincerely believe. And now, having at last declined the office which he most loved to perform, he turned toward the woods, which he had known before he tasted danger and renown, and made ready to move to Burlington Bay.

CHAPTER XXXV

ETHAN CULTIVATES HIS GARDEN

LEAVING Fanny and the children at Sunderland, Ethan rode to Burlington to build his house. His route lay along Ira's road, the route he had followed when he chased Surveyor Cockburn, when he destroyed the Scotch settlement at New Haven Falls, and when he marched to capture Ticonderoga. As then, it was May, now, the month of apple blossoms, fresh-plowed earth, green pastures, steaming ponds, rejoicing birds. Ethan was fifty, an ageing man, a pioneer going into the wilderness to build his house and 'possess the earth.' For him the woods were filled with memories.

At Burlington he spent the time superintending the work on his house and looking into the condition of his farm. He wrote to Levi at St. John's:

My farming business goes on very brisk but I tremble for bread and corn . . . it is a pinch with us and will be so till harvest, pray help us. . . . You can send wheat or flour by Mr. McLean's boat by which passage this letter is conveyed.

In July, Gideon Durham and George Baker, two of Shays's insurgents who had escaped from Massachusetts, came to Onion River riding on horses they had stolen from a Mr. Starkweather. They were immediately captured, probably by Ethan's and Ira's hired men, and conducted to Bennington by a small guard of 'respectable gentlemen.'

It appears that Ethan was one of these 'respectable gentlemen,' for it was he who wrote from Bennington to Royall Tyler that the Massachusetts fugitives were

being returned, with Vermont's compliments. He added:

As to the Appendix to the Oracles of Reason, should you procure 18 or 20 pound by subscription in ready money it shall be published next spring.

Tyler evidently did not procure the 'ready money,' for the appendix was not published during Ethan's lifetime. He left the manuscript in Fanny's keeping, with a note saying that it was to be published 'when-ever it can without infringing upon my present or future living.' Entitled 'An Essay on the universal plenitude of Being, and on the nature and immortality of the soul,' it deals with the essence of the soul, which, Ethan has decided, is substantial but not material (isn't that what the spiritualists call ectoplasm?), with the proofs of 'agency' or free will, with the intuition of the existence of the soul and of immortality, and the plenitude (or absence of vacuum) of the universe. It contains such sentences as these:

We know but little of things, yet with candour, application, and a sincere desire after truth, we may improve our understandings in the knowledge of nature; much farther than at our commencing students we could have imagined.

And:

God is absolutely perfect, in his natural attributes of wisdom and power, and in his moral perfections of Justice goodness and truth.

Finally:

That God could not have prevented moral evil, is evident from the following considerations, to wit, that of all possible systems of being and providence, infinite wisdom must have devised the best, and in that perfect

system, there must be somewhere such a rank, order or condition of creature as man, in order to make the universal and systematical scale of being and providence compleat, and make an infinite display of the eternal attributes, and moral perfections of the Divine nature, and as a deficiency of the creatures called man, would have rendered the system of being and providence incomplete, and consequently have negatived the perfection of God, therefore the creation and existence of man was essentially necessary, and consequently must be, as they are by nature, since no other specific kind of creatures, could have been identically man, or filled that place and rank of being, for which the creation and existence of man was necessary, and inasmuch as man, in order to be man, must be a (free) agent, he must have it in his power to do both moral good and evil, in the agency whereof God could not have controlled him, having originally made him free, without violating the essential powers and faculties of his nature or annihilating him, either of which would infringe on his wisdom, and render his system of being and providence incomplete and abortive.

The sentence of a man, of an artist, who loves sentences as sentences, not merely for what they contain.

On the evidence of the letter to Royall Tyler, the appendix was written at Sunderland, from whence Ethan departed, in October, 1787, for the last time, setting out for Burlington, accompanied by his family — Fanny, the three girls, the children, two Negro men, and one woman servant. While the house was being completed, they boarded with Henry Collins, near by. In November, Ethan wrote to Stephen Bradley:

I have lately arrived at my new farm of 14 hundred acres in one body in which are three hundred and fifty acres of choice river intervale a quantity of Swaley and rich upland meadow interspersed with the finest of wheat land and pasture land well watered and is by nature equal

to any tract of land of the same number of acres that I ever saw. I have about forty acres under improvement. The country settles fast and I wish that you was well settled in it, little is said about Philosophy here our 'talk is of Bullocks and our glory is in the gad,' we mind earthly things.

Brother Ira had built a house in Colchester, facing Ethan's across the Onion River. Ira's, it is said, was the more pretentious of the two. He was living the life of a squire, busy with mills, mines, and trading projects, while Ethan, whose ambitions were fulfilled or forgotten, had, like Candide, come to cultivate his garden, to 'mind earthly things.' Cousin Caleb lived near by and Cousin Ebenezer, across the water on South Hero Island. There were visits back and forth, bowls of punch, favorite stories, and long quiet days, spent with Fanny and the girls. Late in November a girl was born to Fanny. The parents named her for her mother.

With the coming of spring, Ethan's imagination blossomed in something like the old way. With every intention of devoting the rest of his days to the charm and solitude of Burlington Bay, he could not fail to see the advantages its location offered for trade with Canada. In June, after the spring planting, the three brothers — Ethan, Ira, and Levi — held a conference and decided to go to Quebec together to see what could be done.

They had reached Quebec by the middle of July, 1788, when Ethan addressed a long letter to Lord Dorchester, the new Governor-General, to inform him that once the Federal Constitution was in operation the United States would undoubtedly try to subjugate Vermont,

For, say they, Vermont is locally situated to the waters of Lake Champlain which communicate with those of Saint Lawrence, and contiguous to the Province of Quebec. where they must be dependent for trade, business, and intercourse which naturally incline them to the British interest.

That is a very sound statement of Vermont's position. Allied to Canada, she would have a seaport and a market for her raw products. Allied to the United States, she would have a share of the war debt and the prospect of being partitioned by New York and Massachusetts. Furthermore, Ethan added that the leading men in Vermont were not 'sentimentally attached to a Republican form of government.' And this is the solution he offered:

Matters were so contrived between the General and certain men of influence in Vermont, the last three years of the late war, that it answered all the purposes of an alliance of neutrality, and at the same time prevented the United States from taking any advantage of it. So in the present case a formal and public alliance, or that Vermont should at present accept of a Government under the Crown might occasion a war between France and the United States on the one part, and Great Britain including Vermont on the other, when on the Haldimand system it may be prevented, and a friendly intercourse and commerce, without any cost to the Crown, be continued, and at any future time such alterations of the policy may be made, as to suit future emergencies.

That fall there were heavy rains, early frosts, a partial failure of crops. There was almost no 'hard money' in the vicinity of Onion River. The neighbors would sometimes give each other a draft on Ethan in its place. But even he did not lay in enough hay to get him through the winter.

Cousin Ebenezer had fared better than the mainland farmers. Early in February, when the Lake was frozen, he invited Ethan to come over to South Hero, with his team, and take back a load of hay.

Ethan's visit was something of an occasion on South Hero. Ebenezer invited in the neighbors, many of them old Green Mountain Boys. Each wanted to tell his favorite story of the good old days when Ethan was their dashing leader and the Albany sheriff, the worst calamity of life. The evening slipped away and, though the hay had long been loaded, Ethan lingered in the charmed atmosphere of memories and punch. It was nearly morning when he finally started for home, sitting beside his faithful Negro, behind the steaming oxen.

Before they had reached the mainland, the Negro noticed that his master paid no attention to his remarks and had not moved for some time. With instinctive apprehension he goaded the oxen, but long before they were home, he realized he was sitting beside a corpse.

Ethan's body was laid out in Ira's house, facing the river, in Colchester. A great company of people came from Bennington to see the face of their hero for the last time. On the day of the funeral there was fresh snow on the ground, but the sun was shining. The procession was in military order. Major Goodrich rode ahead, as Marshal, followed by muffled drums and the coffin with drawn swords laid across it. Once every minute, the Major gave the command to halt and a cannon was fired. One halt was made on the ice above the dam at the falls. At the grave the coffin was opened. When it was interred, several discharges of musketry were made by six platoons. Then the pro-

cession re-formed and returned to Ira's house, with a quickstep.

A story got about that Ethan believed in the transmigration of souls. He had told his friends that he expected to live again in the form of a large white horse. Evidently death seemed far away when he suggested the idea, half humorously, half wondering. Perhaps subconsciously he remembered having seen, some October morning, a great white stallion standing on one of those high Vermont hills, with arched neck, mane and tail stirred by the awakening breeze, snorting a little and pawing the damp earth, while he surveyed the lake of white mist below him, the rows of blue hills, ranged, like the seats of some gigantic stadium, beneath a prismatic canopy. Such a picture must have touched this earthy man whose life was spent amongst those hills, riding and hunting, fighting and plotting for them and their peculiar people. Recurring unexpectedly in the imagination the image seemed prophetic, visionary. But, of course, Ethan didn't take even visions quite seriously.

THE END

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND KEY TO CHRONOLOGY AND NOTES

- AAS** The manuscript collection of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.
- ADAMS** Revolutionary New England. James Truslow Adams. Boston, 1923.
- ADDITIONAL MSS** A collection of manuscript in the British Museum, London.
- AJ** Assembly Journal. State Papers of Vermont, III. P. H. Gobie Press, Bellows Falls, 1924.
- ALLEN MEMORIAL** The Allen Memorial. O. P. Allen. Palmer, Massachusetts, 1907.
- ALB COM COR** Journals of the Albany Committee of Correspondence. Albany, 1923.
- AMERICAN COLLECTOR** 'The American Collector,' a monthly published at Metuchen, New Jersey, and New York City, October 1925 to June 1928.
- ANIMADVERSORY ADDRESS** 'An Animadversory Address to the Inhabitants of the State of Vermont; with Remarks on a Proclamation, under the Hand of his Excellency George Clinton, Esq; Governor of the State of New-York.' (EA) Hartford, 1778.
- ANNALS OF DORCHESTER** J. Blake's 'Annals of the Town of Dorchester.' Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society. Boston, 1846.
- ANNUAL REGISTER** The Annual Register. A review of public events at home and abroad. London, 1758-1927.
- AMB** Benedict Arnold's Memorandum Book. Published in 'Pennsylvania Magazine of History,' VIII, 363 ff. 1884.
- BHSS** 'Collections of the Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society.' Pittsfield, 1894.
- BEARDSLEY** E. E. Beardsley's 'History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut.' Cambridge, 1874.

- BENTON** 'The Vermont settlers and the New York speculators.' R. C. Benton. Minneapolis.
- BLEECKER** The Posthumous Works of Ann Eliza Bleecker. New York, 1793.
- BRIEF NARRATIVE** 'A Brief Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government of New-York, relative to their obtaining the jurisdiction of that Large District of Land, to the Westward from Connecticut River.' (EA) Hartford, 1774.
- BTJ** Benjamin Trumbull's Journal of 1775 in Connecticut Historical Society Collections, vol. VII.
- BURNETT** Letters of Members of the Continental Congress. Edited by Edmund C. Burnett. Carnegie Institute, 1921.
- CA** Public Archives of Canada. Ottawa.
- CHANNING** A History of the United States. Edward Channing. New York, 1924.
- CHIPMAN** The Life of Nathaniel Chipman. Daniel Chipman. Boston, 1846.
- CHITTENDEN** The Capture of Ticonderoga. Lucius E. Chittenden. Rutland, 1872.
- CLARK** Solomon Clark's 'Antiquities, Historicals and Graduates of Northampton.' Northampton, 1892.
- CLINTON** Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York. Published by the State of New York. 1899.
- CO** Transcripts of the British Colonial Archives in CA.
- CONCISE REFUTATION** 'A Concise Refutation of the Claims of New-Hampshire and Massachusetts-bay, to the Territory of Vermont; with Occasional Remarks on the long disputed Claim of New York to the same. Written by Ethan Allen and Jonas Fay, Esq'rs.' Bennington, 1 January 1780.
- C C** The 'Connecticut Courant.' A weekly newspaper, published at Hartford, Conn., beginning with the issue of 29 October 1764. The most complete file is in the library of the Connecticut

- CHSC** Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut.
- CONN RECORDS** Connecticut Historical Society Collections.
- CONT CONG** 'Public Records of the State of Connecticut.' 15 vols. Hartford, 1850-90.
- CONTINENTAL CONGRESS PAPERS** Journals of the Continental Congress, 1779-1789. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1905.
- CONTROVERSY** A collection of manuscripts in the Library of Congress.
- CONVENTION** 'The Present State of the Controversy between the States of New-York and New-Hampshire on the one part, And the State of Vermont on the other.' (EA) Hartford, 1782.
- CONWAY** 'The Proceedings of the Convention of the Representatives of the New Hampshire Settlers; Containing their Covenant-Compact and Resolutions.' (EA) Hartford, 1775.
- COOLEY** Conway's 'Life of Thomas Paine.' New York, 1892.
- CORRESP PROV CONG** Cooley's 'Life of Reverend Lemuel Haynes.'
- COTHREN** Correspondence of the New York Provincial Congress. Albany, 1842.
- CRÈVECŒUR** The History of Ancient Woodbury. William Cothren. Waterbury, 1854.
- DHNY** 'St. John de Crèvecoeur.' Julia Post Mitchell, Ph.D. New York, 1916.
- DUANE** The Documentary History of the State of New York. E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D. Albany, 1849.
- DUANE PAPERS** 'A Narrative of the Proceedings subsequent to the Royal Adjudication concerning the Lands to the Westward of Connecticut River, etc.' New York, 1773. This, with the 'State of the Right' pamphlet; was attributed to James Duane by John Adams's Diary. The Papers of James Duane, in the Collection of the New York Historical Society.

- DWIGHT Timothy Dwight's 'Travels in New England and New York.' New Haven, 1821.
- EASTERN VERMONT B. H. Hall's 'History of Eastern Vermont.' Albany, 1865.
- EA Ethan Allen.
- EA MSS A collection of manuscripts relating to Ethan Allen in the Vermont State Library, Montpelier, Vermont.
- EAMB A manuscript record kept by EA, now in the collection of the late J. B. Wilbur, Manchester, Vermont.
- FOLLETT MEMORIAL The Follett-Dewey-Fassett-Safford Ancestry, etc. Harry Parker Ward, Columbus, Ohio, 1896.
- F American Archives. Peter Force. Washington, 1837-1853.
- FORCE TRANSCRIPTS A collection of transcripts in the Library of Congress.
- FRENCH 'The Taking of Ticonderoga in 1775: the British Story.' Allen French. Cambridge, 1928.
- GILCHRIST 'Fort Ticonderoga in History.' Helen Ives Gilchrist. 1922.
- GOHDES 'Ethan Allen and his Magnum Opus.' Clarence Gohdes, in 'The Open Court,' Chicago, March 1928.
- GOODHUE History of the Town of Shoreham. Josiah F. Goodhue. Middlebury, 1861.
- GORDON 'History of the Rise, Progress and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America.' William Gordon. London, 1788.
- G C Records of the Council of Safety and Governor and Council of the State of Vermont. E. P. Walton. Montpelier, 1873.
- GRAYDON 'Memoirs of a Life Chiefly Passed in Pennsylvania.' Alexander Graydon. Harrisburg, 1811.
- GRAHAM J. A. Graham's 'A Descriptive Sketch of the Present State of Vermont.' London, 1797.
- HALL 'Ethan Allen.' Henry Hall. New York, 1892.

- H** 'Vermont Quarterly Gazetteer.' Abby Maria Hemenway. Ludlow, Vermont, 1860-1863.
- HITCHCOCK** 'Fifty Years in Camp and Field.' E. A. Hitchcock. New York, 1909.
- HENRY** J. E. Henry's 'Account of Arnold's Campaign against Quebec.' Munsell, ed., 1877.
- HC MSS** The Papers of Sir Henry Clinton, in the possession of William Clements, Bay City, Michigan. (The numbers refer to volumes.)
- HIST MAG** 'The Historical Magazine.' Boston, New York, and Morrisania, 1857-1866.
- IRA** 'The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont.' Ira Allen. London, 1798. Reprinted by Vermont Historical Society, 'Collections,' vol. 1. The Journal of James Jeffry, Jr. January to October 1775. A manuscript in the collection of the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts. Printed in the Essex Institute Historical Collections, April 1914.
- JEFFRY** 1. The Journal of James Jeffry, Jr. January to October 1775. A manuscript in the collection of the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts. Printed in the Essex Institute Historical Collections, April 1914.
- JENNINGS** 'Memorials of a Century.' Isaac Jennings. Boston, 1869.
- JONES** Thomas Jones's 'History of New York during the Revolution.' New York, 1879.
- JUDD MANUSCRIPT** A manuscript used by J. R. Trumbull, the historian of Northampton, Massachusetts.
- JR** Justice Court Records. Cf. LR.
- LR** Land Records, found in the offices of the several town clerks. Wherever possible, the name of the town will be indicated by an initial.
- LEACOCK** John Leacock's 'The Fall of British Tyranny.' Philadelphia, 1776.
- LOSSING** B. J. Lossing's 'Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution.' New York, 1859.
- MAG AM HIST** 'Magazine of American History.' Wm. Abbatt, ed. New York, 1877.
- MHSC** Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

- MPC** Journal of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. Papers relating to Ticonderoga and Crown Point.
- MNFC** A History of the Organization, Development and Services of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada, etc. 3 vols. Ottawa.
- MINER** Charles Miner's 'History of Wyoming Valley.' Philadelphia, 1845.
- MOORE** Frank Moore's 'Diary of the American Revolution.' New York, 1860.
- MORGAN** The manuscript collection of J. P. Morgan, New York City.
- N** 'A Narrative of Colonel Ethan Allen's Captivity. . . . Containing, His Voyages and Travels . . . Interspersed with some Political Observations. Written by himself, and now published for the Information of the Curious in all Nations.' Philadelphia, 1779. The following editions have been located:
- 1-1779, Philadelphia Printed by Robert Bell. Double columns.
 - 2-1779, Boston Reprinted by Draper & Folsom — 40 pages.
 - 3-1779, Philadelphia Sometimes called the 1st edition. Printed by Robert Bell. Single columns.
 - 4-1779, Boston Reprinted by Draper & Folsom.
 - 5-1779, Philadelphia Printed for and sold by William Mentz in Cherry Valley.
 - 6-1780, Newbury, Mass. Printed by John Mycoll for Nathaniel Coverly of Boston — 80 pages.
 - 7-1780, Norwich, Conn. Printed by John Trumbull.
 - 8-1780, Danvers near Salem, Mass. Reprinted and sold by E. Russell — Russell's American Almanack.
 - 9-1805, Philadelphia Printed for Ira Allen of Vermont as an Appendix to the PARTICULARS OF THE CAPTURE OF THE SHIP OLIVE BRANCH.
 - 10-1807, Walpole, N.H. Printed by Charter & Hale for Thomas & Thomas — 158 pages.
 - 11-1814, Albany, N.Y. Printed by Moses Pratt, Jr., for Pratt & Clark.
 - 12-1834, Plattsburgh, N.Y. Printed by F. P. Allen for O. R. Cook. Slightly abridged copy of the 'Narra-

- 13-1838, Burlington, Vt. *Printed by H. Johnson & Co. Called 3d edition.*
- 14-1845, Boston *Printed by Oliver L. Perkins. Has curious frontispiece of Allen demanding the surrender of Ticonderoga.*
- 15-1846, Burlington *Printed by Chauncey Goodrich. Called 4th edition.*
- 16-1849, Burlington *Printed by C. Goodrich and S. B. Nichols. Called 5th edition.*
- 17-1849, Dayton, Ohio *Listed in Goodspeed's Catalogue no. 172.*
- 18-1852, Burlington *Reprint of 16th (1849) edition. Nichols & Warren, Leavenworth Block.*
- 19-1854, Burlington *Reprint of 16th (1849) edition by Chauncey Goodrich.*
- NHPSP *Provincial and State Papers Relating to New Hampshire. Concord, 1877, etc.*
- NYHS *New York Historical Society.*
- NYPL *New York Public Library.*
- NYSHA *New York State Historical Association Quarterly.*
- NILES *The Hoosac Valley. Grace G. Niles. New York, 1912.*
- ORACLE *'Reason the only Oracle of Man, or a Compenduous System of Natural Religion. Alternately Adorned with Confutations of a variety of Doctrines incompatible to it; Deduced from the most exalted Ideas which we are able to form of the Divine and Human Characters, and from the Universe in General.' (EA) Bennington, 1784.*
- PA *Pennsylvania Archives. Philadelphia, 1855, etc.*
- PHS *The manuscript collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia.*
- PLANS *'A Set of Plans and Forts in America.' 1763.*
- PR *Probate Records. Cf. LR.*
- PERRY *A. L. Perry's 'History of Williamstown and Williams College.'*

- REV WAR Connecticut State Library. Papers relating to the Revolutionary War.
- RILEY American Philosophy. The early schools. Isaac W. Riley. New York, 1907.
- RUDD Sketch of Salisbury. Malcolm D. Rudd.
- SCHUYLER 'The Life and Times of Philip Schuyler.' B. J. Lossing. New York, 1873.
- SCHUYLER PAPERS The letters, etc., of Philip Schuyler, in the manuscript collection of the New York Public Library.
- SLADE Vermont State Papers. William Slade, Jr. Middlebury, 1823.
- SMITH DIARY The Diary of William Smith, in the manuscript collection of the New York Public Library.
- SPARKS The Writings of George Washington. Jared Sparks. Boston, 1837.
- STARR A History of Cornwall, Connecticut. Edward C. Starr. Cornwall, 1926.
- STATE PAPERS The collection of manuscript State Papers in the Capitol, Montpelier, Vermont.
- STEVENS FACSIMILES Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America. B. F. Stevens. London, 1889.
- STEVENS PAPERS A collection of manuscripts in the New York State Library, Albany, New York. Owing to the fire of 1911, they are badly charred.
- STILES The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles. DD., LLD. F. B. Dexter, ed. New York, 1901.
- THOMPSON A Gazetteer of the State of Vermont. Zadock Thompson. Montpelier, 1824.
- THOMPSON'S HISTORY History of the State of Vermont. Zadock Thompson. Burlington, 1833.
- TREASURER'S ACCOUNT The manuscript accounts of Ira Allen, Treasurer of Vermont, in STATE PAPERS.
- TRUMBULL PAPERS A Collection in the Connecticut State Library, Hartford.
- TRUMBULL Benjamin Trumbull's 'Complete His-

- tory of Connecticut.' 2 vols. New London, 1898.
- TRUMBULL'S NORTHAMPTON** History of Northampton, Massachusetts. James R. Trumbull. Northampton, 1898-1902.
- TYLER PAPERS** The Papers of Royall Tyler, in the possession of Helen Tyler Brown.
- U.S. REVOLUTION PAPERS** A collection of manuscripts in the Library of Congress.
- VCA** Ira Allen's 'Vindication of the Conduct of the General Assembly of Vermont, etc.' Dresden, 1779.
- VHSC** Vermont Historical Society Collections. Montpelier, 1870, etc.
- VERMONT GAZETTE** A weekly published at Bennington by Haswell and Russell, 1783, H.
- VR** Vital Records. Cf. LR.
- VRMR** The State of Vermont — Rolls of the Soldiers in the Revolutionary War. Rutland, 1904.
- VINDICATION** 'A Vindication of the Opposition of the Inhabitants of Vermont to the Government of New-York, and of their Right to form into an Independent State. Humbly submitted to the Consideration of the impartial World.' (EA) Printed by Alden Spooner, Printer to the State of Vermont, 1779.
- WARDNER** The Birthplace of Vermont. Henry Steele Wardner. New York, 1927.
- WASHINGTON PAPERS** A collection of manuscripts in the Library of Congress.
- WILBUR** 'Ira Allen, Founder of Vermont.' James Benjamin Wilbur. Boston, 1928.
- WILBUR COLLECTION** Vermontiana, in the collection of the late J. B. Wilbur, Manchester.
- YOUNG** 'Some Reflections on the Disputes between New-York, New Hampshire and Col. John Henry Lydius of Albany, etc.' New Haven, 1764. Attributed to Thomas Young by Ezra Stiles.

CHRONOLOGY AND NOTES

The numbers preceding the notes indicate the pages to which they refer.

I

1. Genealogy. ALLEN MEMORIAL 13 ff.
Dorchester Co. ANNALS OF DORCHESTER 8 ff.
- 10 January 1737 2. Litchfield, Conn. VR I 1: EA born. The old calendar was still in use. According to 'new time' this was 1738.
3. Arminianism. ORACLE 386.
Cornwall. STARR 33 ff.
4. 7 Devils. HITCHCOCK 28.
The tree story seems to have originated with a letter written by Ira in 1795. EA MSS 427. Grist taken to Woodbury on horseback. STARR 40.
5. Woodbury. COTHREN 145 ff.
Benjamin Stiles. COTHREN 414.
Ira wrote: 'Ethan began early in life to dispute and argue on religious matters.' EA MSS 427. The quotation is from the preface, ORACLE.
6. Solomon Palmer. BEARDSLEY I 189.
Jonathan Lee. H I 563.
- 14 April 1755 7. CORNWALL VR I Joseph d. Ira: 'My brother had just began to prepare for college when my father died in the eighteenth year of Ethan's age. The circumstances of the family were such that he proceeded no farther in his studies.' EA MSS 427. H I 563.
- 9 June 1757 LITCHFIELD PR I: EA received £9:13:4 from Joseph Mather for Mary Allen admx. of Joseph's estate.
- 7-21 August 8. Captain Moses Lyman's Company. CHSC IX 247.
- 15 October 1761 9. Cream Hill. Cornwall LR I.
- 12 January 1762 Salisbury LR I: Saml. and Elisha Forbes of Canaan to John Hazeltine of Uxbridge, Worcester Co., Massachusetts Bay, for 268 pounds 15 shillings: — to Hazeltine 4/8 of all ye iron oar contained in 1/8 of ye oar grant in Salisbury

(said grant containing 100 acres); and also $\frac{4}{8}$ part of all the lands we S. and E. Forbes bought of John Reed of Stamford with all ye iron oar contained therein; and to Ethan Allen $\frac{1}{8}$ of all ye iron oar contained in $\frac{1}{8}$ part of all the land we bought of Reed with full liberty for Hazeltine and Allen to dig and cart or otherwise to remove said oar at their pleasure excepting what oar shall be used out of sd oar beds in ye two fires in ye iron works in Canaan belonging to S. and E. Forbes and also for the use of one fire in ye iron works in Norfolk belonging to Thos. Day.

- 18 January 10. S LR I: Leonard, Elijah and Eliphalet Owen to Hazeltine S. and E. Forbes and E. Allen for 20 pounds the privilege of cutting and coaling $\frac{2}{3}$ of the proper coal wood now standing on a tract we purchased of Thomas Lamb on Tohconnick Mountain — a tract of 376 acres. The Owens agreed never to build any iron works on their land to damidge the sd Hazeltine Forbes and Allen. They also agreed to allow the partners to build a Furnace on the property and to use the water in the pond, to dam the pond, etc.
- 9 February An eleven months note for eleven pounds ten shillings tenpence, written and signed by Ethan, in the Oblong, payable to Stephen Ray, and witnessed by Ichabod Rogers and Nathaniel Mobry. NYPL.
- 23 June 11. Woodbury VR I: EA and Mary Brownson married in 1764. EA's cousin, Thomas Allen, m. Elizabeth Lee and brought her to his home in Pittsfield 'on a pillow on his horse.' BHSS III 60.

II

- 4 January 1763 12. Salisbury LR I: S. and E. Forbes sell to EA of Cornwall $\frac{1}{8}$ of 220 acre tract in Salisbury for £20: 12: 6.
- 12 S LR I: Leonard Owen to Forbes, Hazeltine and EA for £430 48 acre lot south of Wanocopocak Pond containing ore bed, iron works, 2 dwelling houses, 2 coal houses, water power privileges, etc.

- 7 April Cornwall LR I: EA sells to Elihu Allen for £60 1/2 of the Cream Hill Farm.
- 30 Salisbury VR I 139: Loraine, daughter of EA and Mary his wife b. in Cornwall.
- 29 December 13. S LR I: Eliphalet Buell to EA of S. for £500 house and 95 acres in S.
- 30 Cornwall LR I: Heman Allen to EA for £85 25 acres in Cornwall.
- 1763 Salisbury 'Grand List': EA £42.
- 9 April 1764 Cornwall LR I: EA to Eliphalet Buell for £450 2 tracts in C: (a) 59 acres with a dwelling house and barn standing thereon; (b) 13 acres of plowland left to EA and Heman Allen in their father's will.
- 12 Salisbury LR I: EA to Heman for £200 1/2 the Buell house and lot.
- 2 May S LR I: EA for £50 buys from Lemuel Baker of Livingston Manor 21 acres in Woodbury, important for mineral rights. Deed signed in S.
- 6 August S LR I: EA sells to Heman for £300 1/2 of his interest in the Furnace and Mine as well as 1/2 of the 20 acre lot 'adjoining the farm I live on' which he had bought from Paul Hazeltine.
- 1764 , Salisbury 'Grand List': EA £125:4:0.
- 1756-64 Young. Ira wrote: 'Ethan began early in life to dispute and argue on religious matters. After an acquaintance with Dr. Thos. Young, a Deist, my brother embraced the same sentiments.' EA MSS 427. Cf. EARLY HISTORY 497-500 and H I 568. The 'Oblong' was the district between the Hudson and the Connecticut line.
14. Blount's Works, London, 1693. The title of EA's ORACLE was evidently suggested by Blount's 'Oracles of Reason.' The phrase 'Great is Diana' occurs in ORACLE 46. But in the preface EA states that he has never read the writings of the Deists. The obvious deduction is that Young, on whose notes the ORACLE was based, told EA about Blount.
15. Ditton. ORACLE 429 ff.
16. Phrases of Locke's frequently occur in both EA's and Young's writings. Warburton. ORACLE 269.

- Watts. ORACLE 94.
 Salmon. YOUNG 8. EA to S. Bradley. 7 September 1785. STEVENS PAPERS
 EA discusses imputation. ORACLE 386.
17. Young's pamphlet. YOUNG, 'Liberty and Property,' 15. It occurs in practically all of EA's writings. As late as 1780, he used it in a conversation with Justus Sherwood. CA B 180.
18. Heman's widow's (Mrs. Wadham's) story. HI 568.
- 25 August 1764 19. Salisbury JR I: Action of replevin, S. Tousley against E. and H. Allen. Defense plea insufficient, 5/0 damages, 10/0 costs.
- 8 September S JR I: EA sues J. Tousley on overdue note for £1:18:6 with interest.
- 1764 Ira: 'He was inoculated for the small-pox.' EA MSS 427.
- 12 March 1765 21. S LR I: Ethan and Heman to Heber Allen for £50 'one certain tract of land in Salisbury being 20 acres more or less.'
- 22 S LR I: Deed Ethan and Heman to Oliver Mil-
 lard of Cornwall for £272:40:0 house and 95
 acres 'where we now live etc.'
- 3 September S JR I: EA breaks the King's Peace by assaulting George Caldwell.
- 5 October EA, 7 associates and 3 slaves leave Roxbury to
 take possession of the lead mines in North-
 ampton. TRUMBULL'S NORTHAMPTON I 363.
- 11 22. S JR I: EA shatters the King's Peace by as-
 saulting Caldwell and Branthwaite.
- 27 S JR I: Witness summoned to appear before
 Hutchinson in 2 cases between our Sovereign
 Lord the King and EA.
- 31 S LR I: Deed Ethan and Heman to George
 Caldwell for £500 for their 1/8 int. in Furnace
 etc.
- 31 S LR I: Deed P. Hazeltine to EA for £50 20
 acres with dwelling house and log shop.
- 25 November S VR I 139: Joseph son of EA and Mary his
 wife born.
- 1765 Salisbury 'Grand List': Ethan and Heman:
 £96:18:0.

III

- 1765 23. Northampton Lead mines. TRUMBULL'S NORTH-AMPTON I 363.
- November 1766 The Brownsons' chest. John Wood's affidavit. STEVENS PAPERS.
Worner's bill. STEVENS PAPERS.
Joseph Allen. CLARK 160. BHSS III 60.
- 15 July 1767 24. Jonathan Edwards. ADAMS 170 ff.
25. Northampton JR I: 'Ethan Allen and his wife and children' ordered to leave town.
- 20 August They leave. Affidavits of John Wood and Jonathan Clap, Jr. STEVENS PAPERS.
Heman's store. CC 2 Oct. 1789 etc. Advertises deerskins, woollen check, shoes, etc., for sale.
- 6 October 26. Woodbury JR I: EA attached the Brownson farm in a suit against Abraham and Israel for £55:12:6 and £1:15:3.
- 15 March 1768 Jonathan Worner gives EA power to sue Israel Brownson for book accounts. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 16 For ten shillings, Jonathan Worner discharges Ethan from suit begun the previous August. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 6 June EA procures affidavits from John Wood and Jonathan Clap, Jr., in Northampton.
- 7 July Litchfield County Court Records, vol. 4, p. 73. EA sues Stephen and Elijah Brownson and Thomas Bennet for twenty pounds damages on a plea of trespass. Case appealed.
- 9 November 1769 Silas Goodrich of Northampton appoints EA his attorney. STEVENS PAPERS.

IV

29. The controversy. BENTON.
- 23 January 1770 30. Sharon. Meeting of NH Proprietors. CC 19 February 1770.
- 3 March Canaan. Meeting of NH Proprietors. CC 19 March 1770.
- 9 May Canaan. Meeting of NH Proprietors. CC 4 June 1770.
- Wentworth. IRA 24.
- 29 Portsmouth. EA buys 1 right in Poultney from Daniel Warner. Poultney LR I.
- 6 June Springfield. EA, 'yeoman,' of Salisbury, buys

- I right in Castleton from Zenas Person, 'brick layer.' Castleton LR II 341.
New Haven. Jared Ingersoll. IRA 24.
Albany. The trial. DHNY IV 609. EA's description. GC I 445.
- 28 32. The 'Gods of the hills' story. IRA 24.
Duane intervenes. DUANE 15.
Bennington. The meeting. SLADE 21.
33. The Green Mountain Boys. IRA 27.
- V
34. Cf. H or THOMPSON for stories of EA's prowess. Many of them were probably originated by himself.
The deer story. EA MSS 427.
35. Twigs of the wilderness. IRA 26.
36. John Munro. IRA 27.
Samuel Adams. IRA 46.
- 26 March 1771 37. Salisbury. EA sells to Israel Holmes I right in Castleton for £24. Castleton LR I 122.
- 4th Tuesday in April Litchfield Co. Court Records, IV, 232; EA vs. Stephen Brownson. Trespass £50. Appealed.
38. The boy, Joseph, d. 1777, while EA was in captivity. He wrote to Heman: 'But mortality has frustrated my fond hopes, and with him my name expires. My only son, the darling of my soul, who should have inherited my fortune, and maintained the honour of the family.'
- 30 May EA buys house in Poultney from Samuel Brown. STEVENS PAPERS.
Cockburn episode. Cf. Cockburn to Duane, 10 September 1771, DUANE PAPERS.
- 20 July 39. Breakenridge Farm Affair. DHNY IV 732 ff.
- 7 September 41. EA buys 1356 acres in Hubbardton from Captain Searles, who gives him liberty to pitch them wherever he likes. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 29 October 39. New Perth. Hutcheson. DHNY IV 745.
- 27 November 40. EA outlawed. DHNY IV 749, 750.
- 1 January 1772 Bennington. Benjamin Buck. DHNY IV 763.
- 27 January 41. Cornwall LR I: EA sells to Elias Reed for £23, 1/2 of 177 acres 'estate of my father Joseph.'
42. Cochran-Robin Hood. DUANE 15.
- 5 February 1772 43. Poultney. Reward. EA MSS 1.
- March 43. Munro and Baker. CC 2 June 1772.

- 10 44. Editorials. CC 24 March, 21 and 28 April, 2 June, and 7 July.
Salisbury. EA to Skene. The collection of Erskine Hewitt, Esq., New York City. Skene NYSHA IX I 27.
46. Benjamin Spencer. DUANE PAPERS.
47. John Munro. DUANE PAPERS.
The bet story. Cf. Yates to Duane, 7 April 1772, DUANE PAPERS.
48. The escape. H I 16.

VI

- May 1772 49. Tryon approaches. WILBUR I 13.
19 May Tryon writes to the inhabitants of Bennington. SLADE 22.
- 5 June 50. Bennington: EA, Warner, Baker, and Cochran reply to Tryon. SLADE 24.
- 18 Bennington: EA buys from S. Robinson 1 right in Castleton for £17. Moses Robinson and Zimri Allen witness deed. CASTLETON LR II, 78.
- June-July 51. EA captures Cockburn. SLADE 31. DUANE 22.
15 July Bennington: The Fays return. DHNY. IV, 792.
- 25 August 52. Bennington: EA writes to Tryon. SLADE 30.
27 Manchester: Meeting of Representatives of 10 towns. SLADE 33.
- September 53. EA captures Stevens. DUANE 24.
21 October 54. Manchester: Meeting of Representatives. DHNY IV, 800.
- 27 Castleton: EA writes to Philip Skene. NYHS.
1772 55. EA, Amos Bird, and Philip Skene's separate Province project. IRA 54.

VII

- 1772 56. Ira visits EA in Poultney. WILBUR I 27 ff.
3 December 57. Thomas Shepherd gives EA 3 notes totaling £25. They are in the STEVENS PAPERS.
- 16 RUTLAND LR I 9: EA to Ebenezer Allen for £12 1 share less 60 acres in Poultney.
- 19 January 1773 RUTLAND LR: I 44: EA to Ebenezer, a 60 acre lot in Poultney (no amount given).

- February 58. EA, Ira, Remember, and Heman go to White Plains. WILBUR I 37 ff.
- 22 March Hubbardton Proprietors. Meeting in Salisbury, EA chosen Moderator. H Proprietors Records I.
- 17 May 59. EA and Heman give £2000 bond to T. Chittenden, J. Spafford, and A. Pratt to deed to them before 1 November 1773 2 600-acre lots in Williston; purchasers give £500 bond to commence clearing within year, according to terms of N.H. Charter, witnessed by Lucy Allen. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 25 CC: Advertisement of 'Ethan Allen & Co.'
- 28 SALISBURY LR I: Deed, EA to Samuel Whitmore for £5, 17 acres of woodland in Cornwall, 'which was distributed to me by the distributors of the estate of my honoured father Joseph.'
- 15 June TINMOUTH LR 72, 3: 100 acres surveyed for EA in right of John Hart, 100 in right of Isaac Newel.
- July 60. Ira builds a road. WILBUR I 43.
- 12 August 61. EA dispossesses Colonel Reid's Scotchmen. DHNY IV 846 ff.
- 20 EA gives £200 bond to deliver deed of 100 acres in Jericho on Onion River to Isaac Rood of Pittsford before 1 January 1774, provided that Isaac pays 2 notes of £10 each before that date. STEVENS PAPERS.
- Summer 62. The Company builds block forts. IRA 42.

VIII

- 21 October 1773 63. CASTLETON LR II 448: Deed, EA to Seth Warner for £90 400 acres in Poultney. Remember Baker and Jonas Fay witness deed.
- 20 November EA chastises the Durhamites. DHNY IV 859 ff.
- November 64. EA writes to the Durhamites. NYPL.
- 13 December 66. Benjamin Ferris sells to EA a right in Charlotte. Elijah Doty sells him a right in Charlotte for £9. Josiah Akin, of Quaker Hill, New York, sells him half a right in Charlotte for £3:6. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 26 The Boston Tea Party. CHANNING III 149

states: 'The story of tarrings, riotings and burnings becomes monotonous, almost as much so as the reading of the papers that poured forth from counties, towns, conventions, meetings, congresses and private individuals.' H I 493 states that the Allen family possessed title to $1/3$ of the land between the mountains and the lake.

- 21 John Brownson deeds to EA a right in Charlotte, for £11. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 4 February 1774 George Patterson advises EA he has this day given a note to Mr. Catholmas which he requests EA to pay — he will reimburse him in the spring. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 9 March Proclamation for arrest of EA, etc. DHNY IV 871 ff.
- 23 March First proprietors' meeting of Burlington. H I 488.
- 3d Wednesday in March Arlington. Convention at Jehiel Hawley's. CC Supplement 21 June 1774.
- April 67. Manchester. Convention. IRA 51.
- 15 EA to Tryon. CC Supplement 8 June 1774.
EA to Micah Vail. WILBUR COLLECTION.
Duane's pamphlets. DUANE.
- 23 September Bennington. EA completes his book BRIEF NARRATIVE.
- 18 November Williston LR I: EA and Heman sell to Elihu Allen 700 acres in Williston.
- Winter 68. McCormick. IRA 45.
- January 1775 EA sells pamphlets. EAMB.
- 30 January 70. Hough. DHNY IV 891 ff.
72. EA visits John Brown. Cf. Brown's letter to the Boston Committee. CHITTENDEN 97.

IX

- 15 March 1775 74. Directors' Meeting of The Onion River Company in Sheffield, Massachusetts. The bill which Ethan presented is in the STEVENS PAPERS. This paper was badly burned in the fire of 1911 and most of the items have been burned off. He collected from the Company Ebenezer Watson's bill of printing (£59:12), Landlord Dewey's bill (£9:3), cash advanced to Levi and Ira, and advanced to the Company, as

- well as to Daniel Lewis for transcribing a pamphlet, to George Patterson and Joseph Fay, also cash expended in the 'General Cause.' He also mentioned lands donated to persons who had been active in helping keep possession of the lands (evidently Green Mountain Boys), and included the cost of keeping a horse at Captain Fay's for 'Public Causes.' The Directors planned to meet again the following year, but, for obvious reasons, were unable to do so.
- 19 76. Spencertown. EAMB.
 29 Rupert. EAMB.
 11 April Westminster Convention. SLADE 60.
 19 77. Lexington and Concord. EA's reaction.
 N 1. The officers and principal inhabitants of Bennington attempt to explore futurity. GC I 448.
 Heman. He was paid £2:16 for 'going express after Ethan Allen 120 miles [from Hartford].'
 REV WAR I III 26ab.
78. Arnold. CHSC I 181.
 The committee reaches Bennington, etc. CHSC I 165-69.
 Richard Bentley's house. H III 510. Proceedings there. CHSC I 169, 179.

X

- 10 May 1775 80. Hand's Cove. GOODHUE 13.
 Gershom Beach. H III 942. GOODHUE 13.
 REV WAR XXVI 219.
 Moon. Almanac for 1775.
 Mr. Wessel's. CHSC I 170.
 Noah Phelps. GORDON II 10. GOODHUE 12, 13.
81. Arnold. CHSC I 171.
 Turned down by the men. CHSC I 172.
 Compromise. GOODHUE 15.
82. The scow. GOODHUE 13-16. THOMPSON 73.
 E. W. Willcox, New York City, has made a careful study of the scow story.
 The number of men. FRENCH 79 prints the numbers (given by the various sources) of those at the Cove and those who crossed.
 Warner. N 15 (ed. Burlington, 1838).
83. Willow Point. GOODHUE 14.

The harangue. N 15.

A tradition that Nathan Beman guided the expedition to the Fort has been omitted. It is not mentioned in any of the contemporary stories, but an interview with Beman, when an old man, was printed in HIST MAG 2 III 273. FRENCH 81 cites the story as an 'example of historic fable, easily discredited by its statement that Arnold was not at the capture.'

Clothes. Cf. CC 5 June 1775, description of clothes worn by deserters.

84. Road. Cf. the map of Ticonderoga in PLANS.

Wicket gate, N. F 4 II 623.

Sentry. N.

Cheers. F 4 II 623.

Soldier. N 17.

Comb. GOODHUE 15.

85. Feltham appears at the head of the stairs. FRENCH 43.

Rat. Statement of Israel Harris. PERRY 35.

EA and Arnold advance. Cf. Feltham's account. FRENCH 43.

'In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress.' N 17. It is the opinion of the author that a man's statement of his own words should be accepted unless there is conclusive evidence to the contrary or unless the man is an habitual liar. The evidence I have found all tends to substantiate the 'Narrative.' For example, the story of Ethan's interview with Prescott at Montreal appeared in John Leacock's 'The Fall of British Tyranny,' published in 1776, while Ethan was in captivity and three years before his 'Narrative' was written. The fact that Feltham does not mention the 'Great Jehovah' is considered as evidence that Ethan did not say it. Would any subordinate officer, reporting a military event to the commander-in-chief, mention such an exclamation, apparently quite beside the point? Feltham had never heard of the Continental Congress and knew almost as little of the Great Jehovah. He would, as he did, mention the information (which he probably received later

in the day) that Arnold had instructions from the Congress at Cambridge and that Ethan's orders were from the Province of Connecticut. Arnold, ignored by the Americans, left to hobnob with the British officers, told them he had a joint command, which he believed his orders gave him, but which the men had refused to admit. John Brown's letter to the Boston Committee, written in March 1775 (CHITTENDEN 97), shows that he, as well as Ethan knew of the existence of the Continental Congress. Ethan had been brought up on the Great Jehovah and the rest of the Old Testament. He undoubtedly thought of what he should say when he demanded the surrender, long before the event — as he always did on such occasions.

EA addresses Feltham (the breechesless officer), etc. FRENCH 44.

Delaplace surrenders. N C. Cf. FRENCH 44, 45 for what followed.

86. The sun rises. N 18.

XI

87. CHITTENDEN, 44, states that Warner insisted on his right to command the Crown Point Expedition. Warner's and Sunderland's letter to the Governor of Connecticut. CHITTENDEN 109.

EA's receipt to Delaplace is in REV WAR I III 35b.

STARR 309, 329, gives the Matthew Lyon story. Cf. Feltham's comment on the plunder, FRENCH 45. Arnold's. F IV 2 557.

JONES I 47 states that the British colors from Ticonderoga were sent to Congress and hung in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia.

88. EA writes to the Albany Committee. This letter is in the possession of L. E. Woodhouse, of Burlington. It was received on the 12th by the hand of John Brown and a copy immediately forwarded to the New York Committee. This copy is in the New York Papers, Library of Congress. For the personnel of the Albany Committee, cf. ALB COM COR VI 31.

89. EA and Arnold dispute and the men 'parade.
CHSC I 172. Also Arnold's letter, mentioned
above, and AMB.
The Committee gives EA a commission,
CHSC I 172.
The Committee sends a certificate to the
Massachusetts Congress. MPC.
 90. EA writes to the 'Provential Congress.' AAS.
Mott returns to Hartford. Cf. his account,
REV WAR I III 34.
Phelps appointed commissary. Cf. his account,
REV WAR I XXXII 325a.
 91. Noon. The prisoners sent to the landing at
Lake George. FRENCH 45.
Arnold shot at. AMB.
Arnold hobnobs with the British officers.
Cf. Delaplace's letter to Schuyler, 1 December
1775, NYPL: 'N.B. Col. Arnold promised me
before I left the Fort, that my Sword, hanger,
belt, guns, etc. should be returned, but I never
got them.'
- 11 Arnold writes to the Committee of Safety.
F IV 2 557.
Herrick captures Major Skene, etc. Cf. Elisha
Phelps to the Connecticut Assembly. CHSC I
175.
John Bigelow receives £150 for conducting the
Misses Skene to Quebec. REV WAR III 633.
- 12 91. EA writes to Governor Trumbull. This letter
is in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum.
92. EA writes to Governor Trumbull. HIST MAG
2d series I.
93. EA writes to the Albany Committee. This
letter is in the possession of Mrs. Pierre Van
Cortlandt. It may be read in the 'Magazine of
American History' XIV I (1885).

XII

- 13 May 1775 95. The Liberty reaches Ticonderoga. Oswald's
Journal, CC 29 May 1775.
A council of officers gives Arnold command of
the Liberty. N 19.
96. Arnold shot at. AMB.
The Liberty sails. CC 29 May 1775.
Arnold captures the King's sloop. N 19.
- 15

- 17 EA meets Arnold. Cf. N 22; AMB; Arnold to Massachusetts Committee of Safety, Crown Point 19 May 1775, F IV 2 584.
- 18 97. EA writes to the Merchants of Montreal F IV 2 693. (Carleton enclosed a copy in his letter to Dartmouth 7 June 1775.)
Bindon intercepted with EA's letter on the way to Montreal. Guy Carleton to the Earl of Dartmouth, Montreal, 7 June 1775, CA Q 11.
- 19 98. EA abandons St. John's. *Ibid.* Also MNFC II.
- 21 EA describes the encounter in a letter to Noah Lee. STEVENS PAPERS.
Crown Point. Arnold at the landing. AMB.
99. Ticonderoga. Council of War. EA to Noah Lee. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 24 Crown Point. EA writes to the Caughnawagas. F IV 2 713.
- 27 101. On board the sloop, off Crown Point. Council of war. EA to Continental Congress. 29 May 1775. F IV 2 732.
- 29 102. Crown Point. EA writes to the Continental Congress. F IV 2 732.
Near Crown Point. Gilliland writes to the Continental Congress. F IV 2 731.
- 31 Ticonderoga. Herrick writes to EA. NYPL.

XIII

- June 1775 104. Herrick commands Ticonderoga; EA and Easton at Crown Point. JEFFRY, 3 June 1775. 'Veritas' writes to Holt, Ticonderoga, 25 June 1775. F IV 2 1086. FRENCH 88 attributes 'Veritas' to Arnold or a 'devoted follower'; PERRY 35 to Israel Harris.
- 2 EA writes to the New York Provincial Congress. F IV 2 891. The letter was received 15 June 1775. Cf. New York Provincial Congress 43. The EA-Easton-Arnold row is mentioned by Colonel S. Parsons in CHSC 182, as well as ALB COM I 78, 79; and by Captain Delaplace in a letter to the 'Courant,' 28 July 1775.
- 3 105. EA and Easton leave Crown Point and go to Ticonderoga. AMB. Also JEFFRY.
- 4 EA and Easton write to the Canadians. F IV 2 904.

106. Pierre Charlan brings messages from Walker. Cf. His deposition, 29 June 1775. MNFC.
6 EA and Easton return to Crown Point. Cf. JEFFRY.
Ferris comes in from Montreal. Easton to the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. MPC.
- 9 107. Crown Point. EA writes to the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. AAS.
- 10 Crown Point. Council of war. Cf. Samuel Elmer, president, to Continental Congress. F IV 2 957.
- 11 108. Crown Point. 5 P.M. Arnold anchors. AMB.
EA, Easton, and Elmore start for Ticonderoga. Arnold stops them and fights with Easton. AMB.
- June EA goes to church in Bennington. JENNINGS 86.
23 Philadelphia. EA and Warner appear before the Continental Congress. CONT CONG 104.
- 24 109. Hancock writes to the New York Provincial Congress. F IV 2 1076.
- 4 July EA and Warner admitted to the New York Provincial Congress. EA MSS 151-53.
- 3 Schuyler writes to the New York Provincial Congress. F IV 2 1536. The order for the pay is in the War Department, U.S.A.
- 6 110. EA and Warner write to Eliphalet Dyer and Silas Deane. EA MSS 158.
EA writes to Governor Trumbull. TRUMBULL PAPERS IV 134acd.
- 12 Bennington. EA writes to Governor Trumbull. This letter is in the collection of Hall Park McCullough, of Old Bennington.
- 20 111. EA writes to the New York Provincial Congress. DHNY IV 918. This letter was received 15 August 1775. PROV. CONG. 107.
- 27 112. Dorset. A convention of Town Committees. GC I 5.
113. EA complains to Governor Trumbull. Cf. 3 August 1775, below.
The Allen-Warner row. VRMR 816. SCHUYLER I 365 366.
- August EA joins the Canadian expedition. N 23.
1 114. Crown Point. Jeremiah Halsey petitions Schuyler for his discharge. TRUMBULL PAPERS IV 142ab.

- 3 Ticonderoga. EA writes to Governor Trumbull. TRUMBULL PAPERS IV 144a-d.
- 5 October Schuyler writes to John Hancock. EA MSS 183.

XIV

- 6 Sept. 1775 115. EA and John Brown reconnoitre. N 24 and EA to Schuyler, 14 September 1775.
- 14 Isle aux Noix. EA writes to Schuyler. CONTINENTAL CONGRESS PAPERS I 158.
- 14-17 EA assists Montgomery in laying a line of circumvallation round the fortress, St. John's. N 24.
Montgomery promises. Cf. Brown's affidavit 22 July 1776. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 17 116. Lord's Day. Isle aux Noix. EA, with Captain Duggan and 6 or 7 men, starts for Chambly. BTJ 145.
- 19 EA appoints Jan Minner commissary. Manuscript in War Department, U.S.A.
- 20 St. Tours. EA writes to Montgomery. EA MSS 175.
- c. 22 EA goes to Longueil. Cf. Montgomery to Schuyler, 28 September 1775. F IV 3 954.
- 24 117. EA attacks Montreal. N 26. A list of men captured with EA; REV WAR I IV 396. EA hired the Canadians at 15 pence per day. F IV 3 845. LEACOCK, Act 5, scene I, produced in 1776, three years before the publication of the 'Narrative,' gives the interview with Prescott.

XV

- 25 122. EA writes to General Prescott. EA MSS 179.
- October EA sent to England. N 38.
- December 123. EA imprisoned in Pendennis Castle. N 48. ANNUAL REGISTER 1775 187. MOORE I 190.
- 27 124. Alexander Wedderburn writes to William Eden. STEVENS PAPERS 462.
- January- 125. The Cabinet considers the case of EA; Mr. March 1776 Cruger to William Palfrey, 16 February 1776 (F IV 6 508); report of House of Lords, 5 March 1776 (F IV 6 294); N 49; EA MSS 2279.
- 8 January Solebay Frigate. N 57.

- February EA at Cork. N 58. In the Fort Ticonderoga Museum there is a small poniard which was handed down in the Penniman family with a tradition that Ethan brought it back from England. He must have gotten it in Cork. EA's note of thanks to the Gentlemen of Cork, CC 24 June 1776.
- 12 126. The Solebay sails from Cork. N 65. The Cornwallis story was sent to Zadock Thompson in 1841 by F. Bradley of Williston. His letter is in the STEVENS PAPERS.
- 3 May The Solebay reaches Cape Fear. N 69.
- 20 127. The Mercury sails for Halifax. N 62.
- First week in June The Mercury puts in at New York. N 74.
- 1776
- Middle of June The Mercury reaches Halifax. N 75.
- 8 August Halifax. EA writes to the Connecticut Assembly. U.S. REVOLUTION PAPERS.
- 12 Halifax Jail. EA writes to the Connecticut Assembly. U.S. REVOLUTION PAPERS.
- 12 October EA sent back to New York. N 83.
- Late in October The prison ship reaches New York Harbor. N 87. CC 25 November 1776.
- 2 November New York Harbor. EA writes to Washington. EA MSS 233.
- Last of November EA landed at New York and paroled. N 91. Also GRAYDON.
- 1776-77 129. EA and Rivington. LOSSING I 508.

XVI

- 22 Jan. 1777 131. EA removed to Long Island. N 112.
- 21 March Jones Fay sent EA £2:8 by a flag from Morristown. He entered it in his 'Account Book,' now in the Bennington Museum. A little later, Levi brought EA £35. Cf. EA to Levi 27 July 1777, Long Island. EA writes to the Connecticut Assembly. REV WAR I VII 169.
- 30 April Long Island. EA received of Colonel Selah Hart £8 for back wages from the Continental service. REV WAR I XII 133.
- 3 June New Lotts, L.I. EA writes to Heman. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 4 EA to Massachusetts Board of War. EA MSS 237.
- 19 July

- 27 132. New Lotts, L.I. EA writes to Levi. Cf. New York Packet I July 1779.
 25 August EA put in Provost Jail. N 114.
 5 November New York. 'A list of prisoners . . . in the provost gaol. . . EA . . . lt. col. N.Y.' TRUMBULL PAPERS VII 170a-e.
 19 December Joseph Webb. TRUMBULL PAPERS VII 247a-d.
 3 May 1778 EA released from Provost Jail. N 141. Sheldon. N 143. Bartlett. BURNETT III 427.
 9 133. EA writes to the Continental Congress. CONTINENTAL CONGRESS PAPERS VI 35.
 10 134. EA leaves Valley Forge. Cf. Washington to Laurens, 18 May 1777. SPARKS V 373.
 25 EA reaches Salisbury. Heman is dead. H I 562. ALLEN MEMORIAL 50.

XVII

- In CC 2 June 1778 Ira advertised that a land office was to be established at his dwelling house in Arlington.
- 28 May 1778 137. EA's description of Chittenden. H I 162. Arlington. The Council meets. Cf. GC I 259. Also the letter of Chittenden to Marsh, misdated 29 April 1778. GC 257. EA's letter to Gates (cf. below) begins: 'I received from your young man at *Arlington* a number of letters,' etc. For the resolutions of Congress, cf. CONT. CONG. 496, 505. Washington's letter to EA. WASHINGTON PAPERS.
 138. EA writes to Gates. This letter is in the Ferdinand J. Dreer Collection 'Soldiers of the Revolution,' Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 EA to Washington. WASHINGTON PAPERS.
 EA to Henry Laurens. U.S. REVOLUTION PAPERS.
 31 139. EA received at Bennington. N 144.
 4-11 June 140. Bennington. The hanging of Redding. SLADE 269 n.: 'The foregoing anecdote has been often related to the editor by those who were eye witnesses of the scene, and accords too well with the spirit of the times, and the well known character of Ethan Allen, to leave a doubt of its authenticity.'

141. H I 162 gives the story about Jonas and the bones.
FOLLETT MEMORIAL 189 gives a list of Jonas Fay's children.

XVIII

- 4-18 June 1778
14 142. The Assembly meets at Bennington. SLADE 268-75.
EA writes to Eleazer Wheelock. Dartmouth College Library.
IRA III: 'In consequence of internal divisions and to make government popular, it was thought good policy not to lay any taxes on the people but to raise a sufficient revenue out of the property confiscated, and the ungranted lands. Hence it was found that those who joined the British were benefactors of the State, as they left their property to support a government they were striving to destroy.'
- 12 143. The Assembly 'voted to take Col. Ethan Allen's petition into consideration.' SLADE 272.
13 The Assembly 'voted that Col. Ethan Allen's petition to be granted.' SLADE 272.
16 The Assembly appointed EA, Clark, Bradley Fay, and Harmon Commissioners, etc. EA MSS 249-51.
17 The Assembly voted that these same five men 'be the officers pursuant to Col. Ethan Allen's request.' (Was this the same as his 'petition' granted on the thirteenth? If so, he evidently originated the idea of the Commission.) SLADE 274.
Bennington. EA writes to Henry Laurens. U.S. REVOLUTION PAPERS. Read 2 July 1778, CONT CONG 676.
- 2 July 144. The tribunal at Dorset. DORSET TOWN RECORDS.
The commissioners submit their bill. STATE PAPERS.
9 EA buys 150 acres on Onion River, from the Commissioner of Confiscated Property, for £300. Property formerly belonged to William Marsh. BURLINGTON LR I 607.

- 11 Arlington. EA writes to Elisha Payne. EA MSS 247.
- 15 145. The 'Tories' complain to Governor Clinton that they are really 'Yorkers.' Cf. their petition. DUANE PAPERS.
- 15 Albany. EA writes to Gates. DUANE PAPERS.
- 21 Washington intervenes. Cf. Washington to Clinton. SPARKS VI 7.
- July When he settled his account with the State in 1782, EA received £19:10 for 'Attendance on the Court of Commissioners, July 1782.' EA MSS 407.

XIX

- 4 Aug. 1778 146. EA and Ira, Heman's executors. Cf. CC 706, of this date.
- 9 Bennington. There is a copy of the 'Animadversory Address' in the Library of Congress. It may be read in GC I 452 or SLADE 85. The ghost story is a local tradition. Cf. WARDNER 457 for his criticism of the 'Animadversory Address.'
- 10 148. Salisbury. EA of Arlington sells 300 acres in the northwest part of Tinmouth to Thomas Russell of Cornwall for £300. Tinmouth LR I 89.
- 17 Salisbury JR I: EA and Ira sue William Kelsey, for £5000 for flour sold by Heman. Kelsey's property attached.
- 22 149. Meschech Weare to Hon. Thomas Chittenden, Esq. SLADE 91.
- 8 September 150. EA starts for Philadelphia. He received £184:10 for 'cash expended in a journey to Philadelphia to transact business at the American Congress in behalf of this State.' EA MSS 407.
- 19 EA at Philadelphia. Cf. Bartlett to Weare, 26 September 1778. BURNETT III 427.
151. EA distributes the 'Address' and confers with Laurens. Cf. EA's report to the Assembly. SLADE 92.
- 24 Congress pays EA \$75 a month. CONT CONG 947.

Morris intervenes. Cf. Morris to Clinton, 27 September 1778. CLINTON IV 100.

Fassett and EA represent Arlington. SLADE 276.

October

XX

- 8 Oct. 1778 153. Windsor: the Assembly convenes. SLADE 275. EA declines oath. VCA 23.
- 13 EA submits his report (dated October 10). EA MSS 271. SLADE 92. It was first printed in the 'Rural Magazine' 517, along with the oral statement. Cf. also affidavit of Zedekiah Stone, 19 November 1778, in DUANE PAPERS, or in WARDNER 467, above the criticism quoted. See also CLINTON V 18, Jay to Clinton, 3 June 1779: 'Mr. Laurens . . . denies Allen's Report so far as it respects him to be true. He confesses often to have seen Allen and to have promised that he should be heard, before Congress did anything in the matter.'
- 20 154. Committee to draw up the 'Declaration at Large.' SLADE 96. Cf. WARDNER 464 on EA and Jacob Bayley.
- 21 155. Motions. SLADE 97.
- 23 EA to Meshech Weare. NHPSP X.
- 24 156. EA appointed 'an Agent to go to the Honble the Congress, when the Governor and Council shall Judge necessary.' SLADE 285.
- 24 EA petitions for Memphremagog Grant. The manuscript in his hand, dated 22 October 1778, is in STATE PAPERS.
- Committee of six to name 596 proprietors. SLADE 285.
- 12 November 157. EA starts for Philadelphia. He received £150 for cash expended on the trip. EA MSS 407. Philadelphia. EA dines with Samuel Holten M.D. BURNETT III 513.
- 26 EA's letter 'To the Inhabitants of the State of Vermont,' Arlington, 9 January 1779, published as an appendix to VCA, tells what he did at Philadelphia. Also cf. Whipple to Weare, 8 December 1778, and New York Delegates to Governor Clinton, 1 December 1778. BURNETT III 514.

XXI

159. Philadelphia, 8 December 1778: W. Whipple writes to M. Weare: 'Ethan Allen (who left the city a few days ago) etc.' NHPSP XI.
- 28 160. Sharon: EA writes to Watson and Goodwin. MORGAN.
The answer to Clinton's proclamation appeared in CC 2 February 1779. It may be read in GC I 455. A. Elliot's 'Paper of Intelligence.' STEVENS PAPERS 543. CC 24 November 1778 Levi offered a reward for a runaway negro, giving his address as Dutchess County.
- 9 Jan. 1779 161. Arlington: Fassett's notice. CC 9 February 1779. Levi's letters, CC 2 March, 30 March, and 3 August 1779. The duel story. I 562.
162. The poem is given in WILBUR I 126. Cf. also R. G. Benedict in VHSC, 1901-02, 67 ff.
- November Bennington. The Vermont Superior Court Records, I 4, show the case of General Ethan Allen vs. Levi Allen continued.
- December The Rutland County Court Records, vol. 98, show that EA and Ira brought a bill in equity against Levi to compel him to give deed to 24 rights in St. Albans as by agreement. The Court ordered him to do so. If he failed within one year, the plaintiffs were to recover £3000 silver money by levying on his land, goods, etc.

XXII

- 9 Jan. 1779 164. EA's letter. VCA 46-48.
- 11-26 Feb. 165. Bennington. Session of the Assembly. AJ 51.
- 12 Assembly dissolves the union. AJ 53.
- 13 EA reports his mission to Congress to the Assembly. AJ 54.
- 16 Assembly appoints committee of three to manage its political affairs at Congress. AJ 56.
- 17 166. EA presents land petition to the Assembly. This petition in his hand is dated 'Bennington 10 Feb 1779.' STATE PAPERS.
- 26 167. Bennington. The Governor and Council appoint EA 'To wait on General Washington to acquaint him with the Situation of affairs Relative to the defence of the Northern Frontiers

- of this State.' The same day Ira was appointed to go to New Hampshire. GC I 290.
- 27 Joseph Fay appointed to go in EA's place. GC I 290.
- 4 March Bennington. EA writes to Meshech Weare. EA MSS 279.
- 6 Bennington. EA writes to Meshech Weare. This letter is in the Ferdinand and J. Dreer Collection 'Soldiers of the Revolution,' at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Printed in part GC I 290.
- 11 168. Arlington. The Council convenes as a Board of War. GC I 295.
- 25 169. Bennington: EA completes N.
- 28 December Dover. Belknap writes to Hazard. MHSC V ii 24.
- 4 Jan. 1780 170. Jamaica Plain. Hazard to Belknap. MHSC V ii 27.

XXIII

- 3 May 1779 171. The account of Ethan's celebration of the anniversary of his exchange was given by Gilbert Bradley, of Sunderland, to Timothy Bradley, of Williston, who repeated it to Zadock Thompson, the historian, about 1842. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 6 EA commissioned to subdue Cumberland County. GC I 299. EASTERN VERMONT 332-45, 600.
- 24 172. EA subdues Brattleborough, Putney, and Westminster. Minott to Clinton, CLINTON IV 847. This letter quoted.
- 26 173. Westminster. Vermont Superior Court. Cf. COURT RECORDS I.
- 27 Court reopens. EASTERN VERMONT 332 H.
- 3 June 175. Windsor. Assembly. AJ 69.
- 3 EA appointed Brigadier General of the militia. AJ 71.
- Chittenden's Proclamation. GC I 443.
- 8 176. EA writes to Bradley. EA MSS 287.
- Minott wrote to Clinton that 'Colonel Allen and others confidently report that two thirds of the members of Congress favor the pretended State of Vermont.' CLINTON V 64.

- Clinton complains to the New York Delegates at Congress 7 June 1779. DUANE PAPERS. Congress appoints a committee. CONT CONG XIV 741.
- 24 Bennington. Chittenden answers the queries of the Committee of Congress. DHNY IV 979.
- 23 177. Clinton hears that EA and Fay are on their way to Philadelphia. CLINTON V 94.
- 1 July 178. Philadelphia. EA and Fay write to Congress. CONTINENTAL CONGRESS PAPERS 40 I 223.
- 3 EA and Fay admitted to Congress. CONT CONG XIV 794.

XXIV

- 3 Aug. 1779 180. Colonel Fletcher to Captain Burck: 'Also in pursuance of orders from Brigadier General Allin, you are hereby Required to muster your company as soon as may be.' CLINTON V 175.
- 23 Arlington: Council orders VINDICATION published. GC I 444.
- August(?) State pays EA £42 for 'Cash expended in a Journey to the frontiers to settle some discontent among the People.' EA MSS 407.
- 14-27 October Manchester: Assembly session: EA receives £66 for 'Cash expended attending the General Assembly at Manchester on important Public Business for this State by the Desire of the Govr. and Council.' EA MSS 407.
- 12 181. Bennington. For consideration of £5 EA deeds to Ethan Allen Fay 400 acres in Williston. Stephen and Jonas Fay witnessed the deed. STATE PAPERS.
- 16 Manchester: EA on committee 'to form the outlines of the plan to be pursued by this State for defence against the neighbouring States in consequence of the late Acts of Congress for that purpose.' AJ 78.
- 18 182. Petition of EA and Ira referred until the next morning. AJ 79.
- 19 Upon the request of Stephen Bradley, the petition was referred to the superior court. AJ 80.
- 20 Committee of Whole, meeting behind closed doors, requests EA, Bradley, *et al.*, to attend

- and votes to support Right of Independence, etc. CLINTON V 325.
- 22 Assembly appoints EA and four others to vindicate Right of Independence. Also appoints EA agent to General Assembly of Massachusetts Bay. AJ 84, 85.
- 23 October Assembly grants 'Two Heroes' to EA and associates. AJ 89.
- 25 EA on Committee of Assembly 'to see what petitions there are on file in the Secretary's Office that can be granted this session.' AJ 91.
- 26 Committee reports. STATE PAPERS.
- 27 Price and conditions of 'Two Heroes' Grant settled. AJ 92, 94, 95.
- October–November EA goes to Boston. GC II 194 and CLINTON V 436. The following year EA received £430 for 'Cash Expended in a Journey to Boston in the capacity of an Agent for this State.' EA MSS 407.
- 27 November Arlington: EA, Ira, John Fellows, and Paul Dewey sign a land petition. STATE PAPERS.
- 29 Arlington: Before starting for 'Meriland,' to distribute copies of the 'Vindication,' etc., Ira lends EA £60. Cf. Memorandum. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 1 Jan. 1780 183. Bennington: CONCISE REFUTATION.
- 15 May 1780 EA disappears again. *Ibid.*
- 31 Sunderland. EA rescues Eldad's infants. H I 240.
- 5 January EA at Arlington. Cf. Lansing above.
- 9 EA at Lake George. *Ibid.*
- 16 EA at Arlington. *Ibid.* Cf. also GC II 33.
- 26 EA at Pownal. *Ibid.*
- 1 July EA at Bennington. *Ibid.*
- 2 According to 'Amicus Republicae,' EA in New York. WASHINGTON PAPERS and SMITH DIARY, 1, 4, and 8 July.
- 11 EA in Bennington and 2 May above.

XXV

- 1780 185. The King's new foreign policy. CHANNING III 305; 27 September 1779 Germain wrote to Sir Henry Clinton: 'Gaining respectable members of Congress or officers of influence or

reputation is, next to destroying Washington's army, the speediest way of ending the rebellion.' HC MSS 35.

H. Clinton to W. Eden, STEVENS PAPERS 549, 1013, 1032, etc.

- 4 February 186. Hartford. EA buys powder, etc. CONN RECORDS II 499 ff., III 274. He also went to Boston. Cf. 1 March below.
- 14 EA pays Ira for State £221:8:0, interest on Continental Loan Office Tickets. TREASURER'S ACCOUNT.
- 21 EA receives £382:14:0 for procuring and transport of ammunition. TREASURER'S ACCOUNT.
- 1 March Sunderland, Treasurer's Office: EA receives £5174:2, which he had paid to the State of Connecticut for Powder and to Major Goodrich of Boston for lead. TREASURER'S ACCOUNT.
- 10 Westminster. EA on land committee. AJ 104, 107.
- 16 A resolution of thanks to EA and others 'for the several services done this State at Congress etc.' AJ 122.
- 24 SUNDERLAND LR III 25: EA and Ira, of Arlington, buy of Samuel Folsom for £250 several tracts in Sunderland.
- 26 187. Castleton. EA to Elisha Towner. AMERICAN COLLECTOR III 2. Sherwood's letter CA Q 11. Marsh's, CA B 161, 151.
- 2 May 189. EA leaves Manchester. Lansing to Schuyler, 26 July 1780. SCHUYLER PAPERS.
- 9 EA returns. *Ibid.*

XXVI

- July 1780 192. Arlington. EA receives Robinson's letter. EA MSS 327. IRA 150.
- 21 July 194. The letter to Congress, although dated 25th, was written before this date. GC II 254 Williams. CLINTON VI 40, 41.
- c. 1 August The Tories depart. GC II 36, 39. HC MSS 9C-128.
- 12 195. Sunderland. EA to Washington. PHS.
- September 196. Ethan was paid £48 for 'Cash expended in Conducting Capt. Wright and others to Lake

- October Champlain by the Governor's order.' EA MSS 407.
 Thomas Chittenden and Timothy Brownson, 'Committee,' instruct Ira to pay EA £3886 due him from the State. STATE PAPERS.
 Ira and Luke Knoulton. WILBUR I 160.

XXVII

- 18 October 1780 Headquarters, Castleton. On this and subsequent days, Ethan sends letters to the Assembly at Bennington (AJ 138); and to Webster, at White Creek. CLINTON VI 331.
- 29 198. EA and Sherwood. Sherwood's Journal. CA B 180. This journal, discovered by H. S. Wardner, was published by him in 'The Vermonter' XXVIII 76-82. His 'Birthplace of Vermont' (New York, 1927) was the first history to use or mention the journal.
 EA to Carleton. WASHINGTON PAPERS.
- 31 203. Rhuport, about break of day. EA to Webster. WASHINGTON PAPERS.
 Bennington. Assembly approves EA's conduct and discharges militia. AJ 145. 'The Lord etc.' IRA 155.
- 3 November Hutchins remonstrance. AJ 151, 152, 170, 171.
- 4 204. Bennington. EA to Carleton. CA B 175. Carried by Ira. IRA 153. Young manuscripts H I 568.
- 24 Sunderland. EA having received a letter from Carleton, dated 15 November (CA B 133), by hand of Sherwood, replies. This letter is in the British Museum.
- 7 December 206. Sunderland. EA to Stark. EA MSS 343, 14 December Sir H. Clinton to Duke of Gloucester: 'It appears that Ethan Allen has joined the King's troops. I have been for these two years tempting that chief, and I have offered him what Congress have refused him.' HC MSS.
- 29 SALISBURY JR: EA and Ira sue T. Tupper for £1 due Heman's estate.
- 5 January 1781 S JR: EA and IRA get judgment by default against T. Tupper as well as John Pudney.

XXVIII

- 9 January 1781 Sunderland. EA and MARY sell to William French 25 acres of land in Woodbury for £22 in silver. W LR XXII 137.
- 29 Arlington. Second proprietors' meeting of Burlington at Noah Chittenden's house. H I 492.
- 4 February 207. Arlington. Crowfoot, Merwin, Hard, etc. CA B 182.
- 13 209. Beckwith's friend sees EA. HC MSS 123. Grain at Coos. HC MSS 9C-128. Germaine VHSC II 93. Whiston. WASHINGTON PAPERS.
- 23 Arlington. S. Rose delivers Robinson's letter to EA. CA B 180; EA MSS 345.
210. Seth Warner. CLINTON VI 777.
- 9 March 211. Sunderland. EA to Huntington. EA MSS 347. Enos. CA B 177 I p. 28.
- 12 April 212. Windsor. Assembly approves the letter to Huntington. AJ 227.
- 13 Assembly elects EA Brigadier General of the First Brigade. AJ 224. EA declines. GC II 89.
- 14 EA to Governor Clinton. This letter is in the Ferdinand J. Dreer Collection, 'Soldiers of the Revolution,' Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Cf. The letter of Hiland Hall to L. J. Cist which is filed with the above: '... Allen's offer to enter the service of New York, against the common enemy was probably made to convince him (Clinton) of his error, and possibly also for the purpose of drawing him out in some manner that would advance the cause of Vermont, etc.'
- 16 214. Brinton Paine. CLINTON VI 775. Schuyler. EA MSS 353. Cf. IRA 161 for his comment. Townsend. CO 5-1304 pp. 45-50.

XXIX

- 1 May 1781 215. Eight in secret, etc. IRA 162. Major McCracken. CLINTON VI 890.
- 15 Bennington. EA to Schuyler. WASHINGTON PAPERS.
- 18 Tinmouth LR: EA sells Peter Noble one right in Middlebury.

- c. 1 June 216. Ira returns, etc. CA Q 18 204 and 207.
- 4 July 1781 217. Arlington. EA gives George Outman a draft for horse hire. STATE PAPERS.
- 10 Sunderland. In a letter to Haldimand, Ira writes: 'General Allen has resigned and taken to his old studies, philosophy.' CA B 176 p. 145.
- July EA visited. IRA 175.
- 2 August Sunderland LR. EA attests a deed.
- October 218. Sergeant Tupper. IRA 191.
- 30 November Sunderland. EA sells to S. Folsom for £150 one right in Castleton. Castleton LR II 123. Sunderland LR III 26. EA and Ira buy from S. Folsom for 1 shilling one fifth part of the 50-acre mine lot.
- 20 December Bennington. Landlord Dewey's. Affidavit of Swart and Dickenson. CLINTON VII 613, 614.
219. Wallumscaick. Ann to Miss T. E. BLEECKER. The State paid EA £1:10 for 'my attending on the militia at the Siege of Vallumcock the last of December 1781' as well as £9:2 for 'cash paid for my expenses and for the militia at the same time.' EA MSS 407.

XXX

- 11 Jan. 1782 221. Arlington. The Council appoints Elisha Payne, Bezaleel Woodward, EA, John Fassett, and Matthew Lyon to 'make a draught of the political affairs of this state to be published.' GC II 133.
- 17 State of Vermont. 'The Present State of the Controversy, etc.' GC II 355. E. P. Walton, the editor, comments: 'Though the committee consisted of five, the authorship is doubtless to be assigned to Ethan Allen. It will be observed on p. 363 that the writer used the first person singular: "but I advise them," etc.' When he settled his account with the State in 1785, EA was repaid his expenses on the trip to Hartford and the cost of printing. EA MSS 407.
222. Washington's letter to Chittenden. GC II 353.
- 26 March 223. Arlington. Terence Smythe leaves for Canada. CA B-177-1 p. 25. EA's anonymous letter, CA B 177-1 p. 264.

- April EA took a 'Journey to Bennington on public business by the desire of the Govr and Council' (£1:18) and spent two days at Arlington attending the Council by the desire of the Governor (8/). EA MSS 407.
- 15 May 224. Arlington. Crowfoot leaves for St. John's to be exchanged. IRA 231. EA's warning. CA B 177-1 p. 303.
- c. 1 June Mob threatens EA and Chittenden. WILBUR I 387.
- c. 15 Wright. CA B 182 pp. 554, 555.
- 16 225. EA writes to Haldimand. ADDITIONAL MSS 21837.
Quebec, 11 July 1782, Lansing to Haldimand. CA B 179 II p. 40 ff.
- 2 July 226. Vermont. EA completes his book. Preface, ORACLE. There are quotations from or references to each of the books mentioned in the ORACLE. EA studies French. N 44. The college student tradition. HENRY 120-27 n. For criticism of EA's philosophy, cf. GOHDES and RILEY I 46 ff. The editor of the abridged 1838 edition of the ORACLE states that the manuscript 'lay for a long time in the hands of a printer at Hartford, whom the writer of this has heard the author abuse for want of moral courage.'
- 2 September 228. EA's commission. GC II 162.
- 9 229. Bennington. EA marches. EASTERN VERMONT 440 ff.
230. Prisoners' affidavits. EA MSS 379-88.
EA was paid £15:15 for 'commanding the troops to assist the Sheriff in the County of Windham 21 days at 15/' and also £7:10 'to cash expended.' EA MSS 407.

XXXI

231. Matthews. CA B 179 II 168.
- 16 October 1782 XXXXXXXX. CA B 177-72 539 etc.
- 25 Berkshire County LR: EA buys Moses Soul's house in New Marlboro.
- 22 November EA to Sherwood and Smythe (re Berkshire). CA B 177-72 508.
232. Haldimand's orders. CHANNING III 380.

- EA to Sherwood. CA B 177-72 508.
- c. 1 December 233. Haldimand and the New-Yorkers. CA B 175 300. EA replies. ADDITIONAL MSS 21838. Sunderland. Sumner and Cossit. CA B 177-72 673; 175 300; ADDITIONAL MSS 21838.
- c. 1 January 1783 234. Pritchard. WILBUR I 411. Knoulton. CA B 178 22 and VHSC I 467.
- 10 235. Matthews to Sherwood. CA B 179 II 177. 236. Poughkeepsie. EA to Sherwood and Smythe. CA Q 21 218. Terence Smythe. CA B 178 15. A hundred sleighs. CA B 178 88.
- c. 1 February 237. Ira. IRA 244. CA B 178 363.
- c. 1 March 25 Wright. CA B 178 67, 122. Sherwood. CA B 178 151.

XXXII

- 18 April 1783 238. Manchester. EA to J. S. and L. K. ADDITIONAL MSS 21838. 239. Savage. CA B 178 p. 185. 240. Adams. *Ibid.*
- 24 EA of Sunderland sells a right in Middlesex for £40. Middlesex LR I.
- 29 May Bennington. EA sells a right in New Haven for £40. NH LR I.
- 30 Sunderland. EA to Haldimand (*re* beef). ADDITIONAL MSS 21835.
- June(?) 241. Sunderland. Mary dies. Allen Memorial. VERMONT GAZETTE, 10 July 1783, 'Monumental lines' attributed to EA.
- 25 242. Sunderland. EA buys from William Williams of Wilmington one right in North Hero for £1:10 NH LR I 267.
- 27 Bennington County. EA buys from Robert Cochran of Alby one right in North Hero for £6. NH LR I 265.
- 15 July Sunderland. EA buys from Luther Fillmore of Tinmouth one right in Two Heroes for £6. SOUTH HERO LR IV 231.
- 22 Bennington County. EA sells to Gideon Brownson one right in Two Heroes for one shilling. SH LR I 83.
- 15 August Sunderland. EA witnesses a deed of Ira's. SHELBURNE LR.

- Sunderland. EA buys from Benjamin Purdy of Manchester two rights in Two Heroes for £14. SH LR IV 234.
- 5 September Sunderland. EA sells a right in Shelburne for £50. SHELburne LR.
- 9-24 October Westminster. Assembly. EA attends by desire of Governor, etc. EA MSS 407.
- 14 Windham County. EA buys from Jonathan Underwood of Marlborough two rights in North Hero for £12. NH LR I 266.
- 22 January 1784 Guilford. EA arrives with ammunition and three militia companies from Bennington County. GC III 306.
- 3 February Westminster. Superior Court. GC III 306.
- 9 244. Westminster. EA and Fanny married. VERMONT GAZETTE 21 February 1784. Fanny's family. EASTERN VERMONT 629.

XXXIII

- 1 March 1784 246. Sunderland. EA buys two rights in Two Heroes from William Gallup of Hartland for £40. SH LR IV 229.
- 2 March Bennington. Assembly orders treasurer to pay EA £97:5:11 to defray the expense of publishing certain pamphlets for the benefit of the State. (Was this a wedding present?) STATE PAPERS.
- 1st Wednesday in April EA and Ira, administrators of Heber's estate, bonded to submit inventory on this date. Rutland PR I.
- 3 May Sunderland. EA sells to James Savage of King District, Albany County, New York, a right in Two Heroes for £7:10. SH LR I 129.
- c. 1 July EA receives a letter dated 25 June from Benjamin Ferris. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 21 Sunderland. EA sells to Levi a right in Two Heroes for £20. SH LR I 200.
- 5 August Sunderland. EA to Van Schaick. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 6 Sunderland. EA sells to Levi of Bennington a right in Two Heroes for £20. SH LR I 114.
- 10 EA sells to Ira for £300 his interest in the Sunderland property. Sunderland LR III 23.
- 31 247. Bennington. EA to Ira. STEVENS PAPERS.

- 13 November Son Hannibal born. ALLEN MEMORIAL 49.
18 VERMONT GAZETTE. EA to the Public.
21 Jonas Fay, sundries. Cf. Jonas's Ledger, Bennington Museum.
24 November Bennington. EA sells a right in Charlotte for £60. Charlotte LR.
28 Jonas Fay, sundries. Cf. Jonas's Ledger.
4 December Bennington. EA sells a right in Charlotte for £60. Charlotte LR.
10 Bennington. EA sells to John McNeil of Bennington 300 acres in Charlotte on the Lake for £300. Charlotte LR I 30.
20 December 1784 Jonas Fay, sundries. Cf. Jonas's Ledger.
21 Bennington. EA sells a right in Charlotte for £70. Charlotte LR.
7 February 1785 Bennington. EA to James Caldwell. MAG AM HIST XIV (1885) 320.
8 March Bennington. EA sells land in Two Heroes for five shillings. SH LR.
1 May Bennington. EA sells to T. Chittenden 200 acres in Charlotte for £35. C LR.
5 Bennington County. EA sells to Joseph Fay a right on Grand Isle for £9. SH LR I 183.
7 Bennington. EA sells to S. Huntington of Shaftsbury 100 acres on Mt. Zion for £80. Hubbardton LR I 101.
25 Philadelphia. EA commutes his pay. STEVENS PAPERS.
30 249. De Crèvecoeur to EA, 31 May 1785. EA MSS 395 mentions EA's departure. And also Crèvecoeur. 141, 142, 145.
30 June Bennington. EA sells to Joshua Reed of Shaftsbury 200 acres in Shelburne for £60. Rutland LR IV 331.
18 July Bennington. EA boards at Timothy Follett's. STEVENS PAPERS.
17 July L'Orient. Crèvecoeur to EA. EA MSS 399.
4 August Litchfield. John Franklin to EA. STEVENS PAPERS.
5 August New York City. EA buys from Nicholas Bogart land in Jericho for £20. JER LR II 119.
2d Tuesday in August Bennington. Superior Court. EA vs. Samuel Hunt. S.C. Records.
12 250. Sunderland. EA receives twelve rights in the

- Susquehanna Company from Joseph Hamilton. The receipt is in the Vermont Historical Society.
- 15 Bennington. EA to W. S. Johnson. 'Johnson Papers' 36, Conn. Hist. Soc.
- 25 Bennington. S. Bradley gives EA a receipt for four lots in Westminster, part of Crean Brush estate, to be disposed of. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 28 New York. J. Young to EA. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 27 Bennington. EA sells to D. Breckinridge of Charlotte 100 acres in Charlotte for 100 'hard dollars.' C LR A 135.
- 7 September Bennington. EA to Bradley. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 10 Bennington. EA sells to C. McNeil of Litchfield, Connecticut, for £150 200 acres in Charlotte. C LR I 229.
- 17 Sunderland. EA receives £211:15:6 due him by the State. EA MSS 407.
- 18 September John Hurlbut sends EA a bill for £2:18:10. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 27 October 251. Bennington. EA to Z. Butler. STEVENS PAPERS.

XXXIV

- 16 Nov. 1785 252. A letter of EA to Benjamin Stiles, COTHREN 414, states: 'Forty of the Books are bound, and will be sent to New York to-morrow, 1500 are printed, etc.'
- The copy of the ORACLE inscribed to Fanny is in the possession of J. E. Goodrich of Burlington, Vermont.
- The letters to Bradley and Stiles, mentioned above, infer the gift of copies of the ORACLE. A letter to De Crèvecoeur of 2 March 1786 in the STEVENS PAPERS does the same. A letter 253. from Ephraim Starr, dated Goshen, 2 February 1786, also in the STEVENS PAPERS contains the request for copies. The editor of the 1836 edition tells the story of the fire and states that Haswell regarded it as the judgment of God. The 'ETHAN NOMATTERWHO' letters are also in the STEVENS PAPERS, which implies that EA received them. The VERMONT GAZETTE for 19 September 1780 contains Lemuel Hopkins's

advertisement, while that of 16 June 1786 contains the Lord George Gordon letter. The final

254. quotation is from HENRY 127 n.

January 1786

Bennington. EA's bill at Landlord Fay's, now in the Bennington Museum, for one year was £9:1:9.

24

Bennington. EA sells twenty bushels of wheat at 4/. STEVENS PAPERS.

28

Bennington. Jonas Fay's Ledger, EA's page, 10/.

20 February

Bennington. EA to Asa Barnes of Lanesborough, Massachusetts, 100 acres in Charlotte for £28. C LR I 210.

21

Bennington. EA to R. Hopkins, thirty bushels of wheat. STEVENS PAPERS.

March

EA sells land in Charlotte to Colonel Asa Barnes, Governor Chittenden, etc., and land in Georgia (1430 acres) to Colonel Smith and his associates. STEVENS PAPERS.

30 March

Bennington County. EA sells to T. Canfield, Jr., of Woodbury, Connecticut, one right in Two Heroes for £15. SH LR I 133.

6 April

Bennington. EA pays Timothy Follett £6:5:7 for board. STEVENS PAPERS.

19

Hudson. J. Hamilton gives EA a letter to Butler and his associates. STEVENS PAPERS.

2 May

While EA is away, Ira rents his Onion River farm to Josiah Averill. STEVENS PAPERS.

c. 15

Wyoming. MINER 388. PA X 765, 6 XI 68, 109.

17

Hartford. Meeting of the Company. MINER 387.

2 June

256. Bennington. EA to Bradley. EA MSS 414.

21

EA to Bradley. A.L.S., sold, American Art Gallery, 1917.

7 July

Bennington. EA signs a petition on behalf of Warner's family. STATE PAPERS.

7 August

Litchfield. EA sells to C. McNeil, of Litchfield, 173 acres in Charlotte for £100. C LR.

8

Goshen. EA attests above. C LR A 138.

18

Sunderland. EA to Ira. STEVENS PAPERS.

Sept. 1786

255. Wyoming. EA appears. Cf. MINER 412. Also Memorandum in WASHINGTON PAPERS.

14 October

New Lebanon. STILES 242.

- 20 Rutland. EA signs a petition on behalf of Thomas Young. STATE PAPERS.
261. The watch story is a local tradition in Sunderland.
- 29 January 1787 Sunderland. EA to Levi. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 7 February Sunderland. EA sells to T. Chittenden one half right in Charlotte for £35. C LR I 308.
259. Royall Tyler. Cf. the spy Blanchard's report. TYLER PAPERS.
- 10 March Bennington. EA writes to De Crèvecoeur. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 4 April 260. Bennington. EA writes to De Crèvecoeur. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 1 May 261. Sunderland. EA and IRA divide the Onion River lands. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 3 262. Sunderland. EA to Colonel Simmons. GC III 379.

XXXV

263. EA goes to Burlington. H I 566, 571. Also deposition of Henry Collins in Vermont Historical Society.
- 3 June Burlington. EA to Levi. This letter is in the collection of the Vermont Historical Society.
- July Onion River. Two of Shays's insurgents arrested. GC III 380.
- 10 July EA buys 200 acres from Abel White of Putney for £50. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 28 August Bennington. EA to Royall Tyler. TYLER PAPERS.
- 18 October Sunderland. Amos Chipman's receipt for £1:10. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 6 November 265. Burlington. EA to Bradley. EA MSS 423-24.
- 24 266. Burlington. Daughter Fanny b. ALLEN MEMORIAL 49.
- 22 December 1787 Bennington. EA settles in full with Haswell and Russell. Manuscript in possession of John Spargo.
- 20 May 1788 Bennington. Joseph Fay to EA. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 16 July Quebec. EA to Lord Dorchester. STEVENS PAPERS.
- 24 July Quebec. EA, Ira, and Levi to Dorchester. CA Q 36-2 p. 466.

- Levi's letter. STEVENS PAPERS.
- August EA writes to Thomas Wheelock. This letter is lost.
- 30 September Chittenden County. EA sells to Justice Wheeler of Lanesboro, Massachusetts, 50 acres in Charlotte for £20. C LR I 74.
- 15 October Colchester. EA sells to John Hollenbeck of Canaan, Connecticut, lots 7 and 8 in Jericho for £238. J LR II 15.
- 10 November South Hero. EA sells to Jonathan Sawyer of Charlotte 50 acres in Charlotte for £30. C LR I 131.
- Tuesday 17 268. South Hero-Burlington. EA dies. VERMONT
February 1789 GAZETTE, 23 February 1789; Burlington PR; manuscript depositions in the collection of the Vermont Historical Society. EA died intestate. His net estate was \$69,823.36.
269. GRAHAM tells the white horse story, which, he states, he has often heard EA affirm.

INDEX

Abbott, John, New York clash, 219
 Adams, —, messenger, 240
 Adams, Samuel, A.'s punishment, 36
 Akin, Josiah, Grants land, 66
 Albany, attitude on Grants question, A.'s exploit, 47; A.'s reports on Ticonderoga to Committee, 88, 93
 Allen, Abigail, and husband's death, 134
 Allen, Betty, as midwife, 23
 Allen, Caleb, A.'s cousin, house, 266
 Allen, Ebenezer, A.'s cousin, and Skene, 45; Grants land, 57; first Grants meeting, 71; A. visits, 72; and frontier defense, 187; services offered to New York, 212; farm, A.'s last frolic, 266, 268
 Allen, Elihu, A.'s cousin, farm, 9, 12
 Allen, Ethan, parents, 2; birth, 2; training, influences, 4-7; and Mary Brownson, marriage, 5, 8, 11; on his youth, 5; early religious attitude, influences, Young, 6, 13-18, 24; as head of family, 7; in French War, 7; iron forge, 9-12, 21; capitalist, transactions, 9, 13; as young man, 9; children, 12, 22, 38, 247, 266; early married life, 12, 18; life at Salisbury, 18; pig episode, 19; inoculation experiment, legal defense, 19, 20; business qualities, 20; profanity and fights, 20-22, 24, 40, 41; Northampton lead mine, 21-23; leaves by request, 25; litigation with wife's brothers, 26, 27; on Grants trial, 31; leadership, prowess, 34-36, 52, 65; humor, 42; Yorker's opinion, 47; and Brown's Canadian mission, 72; on news of Lexington and Concord, 77; uniforms, 83, 220, 229, 254, 258; St. John's, 95-99; plans to conquer Canada, 97, 102, 104-07, 110, 111; Indian propa-

ganda, 99, 100; Isle aux Noix and Point au Feu, 99, 101; protest on attitude of Congress, 102; and Continental regiment, 102, 109-13; and New York Provincial Congress, 104, 109, 111; before Congress on plan, 107, 108; and preparation of Canadian Expedition, 113; Schuyler on, 114; Canadian reconnaissances and recruits, 115-17; Montreal attack, captured, 117-19; on his treatment, 119-21; in irons, 122; transportation to England, 122; confinement, as spectacle, on his harangues, 123; Cabinet consideration of fate, 124, 128; return to America as prisoner of war, Irish greetings, 125-27; on Cornwallis, 126; on parole in New York City, condition and conduct, 127-29, 131; on attempt to bribe him, 128; Rivington on encounter, 129, 130; on Long Island, exchange, 131-33; on death of son, 131, 132; confinement for breaking parole, 132; at headquarters, Washington on, 133; letter to Congress on war conditions, 134; return home, reception, 134, 137-39; spirit, 135; brevet Continental commission, pay, 138, 145, 151, 222; and execution of Redding, 139-41; and confiscation of Tory estates, 143, 144; confusion of Tories and Yorkers, 144; and Heman's estate, 146, 148, 206; and wife's temper, 146, 234, 241; later philosophical meditations, 153, 164, 165, 205, 217, 269; and Levi's land, quarrel, 160-63; Levi's challenge and verses on, 161, 162; letter to inhabitants of Vermont, 164; letter to Washington on frontier defense, 167, 168; narrative of captivity, effect, 168, 169; contemporary opinions on, 169, 170, 189; anniversary of exchange,

- 171; Brigadier-General of Militia, activity, 175; congressional investigation of conduct, 176, 177; explanatory mission to Congress, 177-79; deeds land to namesake, 181; and lost Taylor children, 189; meeting with Gov. Clinton, 189; offers services to New York, 212, 213; letter to hoodwink Schuyler, 215, 216; attitude and situation (1782), 232, 234, 238; and death of wife, 241; and Fanny Montresor, marriage, 243-45; and Crèvecoeur, 249, 260; Wyoming Valley proposal and plans, 249-51; verses to his wife, her influence, 252, 261; trips to Wyoming, 254, 255, 258; Hudson debt, court scene, 255-57; land poor, 257; and Shays Rebellion, 259, 262, 263; final frolic, death, 268; funeral, 268. *See also* British negotiations; New Hampshire Grants; Onion River Company; *Oracles of Reason*; Ticonderoga; Trade; Vermont
- Allen, Fanny (Montresor), marriage to A., 243-45; and his family, 246; children, 247, 266; presentation copy of A.'s book, 252; and A.'s Wyoming trips, 258, 260; control over A., 261
- Allen, Fanny, A.'s daughter, birth, 266
- Allen, Hannibal M., birth, 247
- Allen, Heber, A.'s brother, 4; moves to Grants, 37; first Grants meeting, 71
- Allen, Heman, A.'s brother, 4; and A.'s forge, 13; store, 21; pig episode, 19; and A.'s family, 25, 38, 68; and A.'s litigation, 26, 27; Onion River Company, 57, 66; White Plains visit, 58; Ticonderoga, 75; Continental officer, 110, 112; and A.'s exchange, 131; death, 134; estate, 146, 148, 206
- Allen, Ira, A.'s brother, 4; anecdote of character, 4; story of A.'s prowess, 34; Grants purchases, 37; and Tryon's expedition, 49; Onion River Company, control, 56-58, 75, 149, 239; White Plains visit, 58; road to Onion River, 60, 61; first Burlington meeting, 66; first Grants meeting, 71; and Canadian plan (1775), 107; Continental officer, 110, 112; and creation of Vermont, 135-37; and A.'s family, 137; and Heman's estate, 146, 148, 206; and New Hampshire, 155, 156, 167; and Levi's lands, 160, 161; Levi's poem on, 162; 'Vindication' pamphlet, 164; and frontier defense, 168, 187; Surveyor-General, 175; distributes A.'s pamphlet, 180; mission to States, 182; mission to Congress, 194, 196; and Knoulton, secret British negotiations, 196, 215, 216; cartel negotiations, 204, 205; on Vermont in time of crisis, 214; and Tupper incident, 218; effect of antagonism of Congress, 222; and Yorker resistance, 229; on peace and British negotiations, 237; Canadian trade after peace, 240, 241, 247, 259, 266; and A.'s second wife, 246; and A.'s house, 247; A.'s defense of administration, 247, 248; squib on, 253; land poor, 258; partition of Onion River lands, 261; Onion River house, 266
- Allen, Joseph, A.'s father, land hunger, 2; Cornwall settlement, Arminianism, 3; children, 4; death, 7; Wyoming rights, 249
- Allen, Joseph, A.'s cousin, position, 23
- Allen, Joseph, A.'s son, birth, 22; death, 131, 132
- Allen, Levi, A.'s brother, 4; and A.'s pamphlet, 69; Ticonderoga, 78; Crown Point, 87; Continental officer, 110; and A.'s exchange, 126, 131; character, 160; A. and confiscation of lands, 160, 161; poem on the brothers, 162; and A.'s Wyoming affair, 250; and Canadian trade, 259, 266
- Allen, Loraine, A.'s daughter, birth, 12
- Allen, Lucy, A.'s sister, 4
- Allen, Lucy Caroline, A.'s daughter, 38
- Allen, Lydia, A.'s sister, 4
- Allen, Mary (Baker), A.'s mother, 2

- Allen, Mary (Brownson), A.'s wife, character, marriage, 5, 8, 11, 241; poor health and temper, 38, 146, 234; death, 241
- Allen, Mary Ann, A.'s daughter, 38, 261
- Allen, Matthew, immigrant, 1
- Allen, Pamela, A.'s daughter, 38
- Allen, Samuel, immigrant, 1
- Allen, Thomas, immigrant, 1
- Allen, Rev. Thomas, A.'s relative, 16, 24
- Allen, Zimri, A.'s brother, 4; Onion River Company, 57, 66, 75; death, estate, 149
- Allen family, immigration, 1; as frontiersmen, 2
- American Revolution, A. on Grants and pending, 72. *See also* British negotiations; Canadian Expedition; Lake Champlain
- André, John, execution, 197
- Arlington, Vt., and A., 137, 146, 153, 181
- Arminianism, of A.'s father, 3
- Arms, Josiah, tavern, 242
- Armstrong, —, A.'s debt, 259
- Arnold, Benedict, Ticonderoga, 78, 81, 85, 87-91, 104, 108; St. John's expedition, 95, 96; and A.'s Canadian plans, 107; price to British, 185, 209
- Assembly. *See* Vermont
- Atlee, S. J., Congressional Committee in Vermont, 177
- Auldin, —, post, 159
- Babcock, Elijah, and Continental office, 110
- Baker, George, Shays fugitive, 263
- Baker, Lemuel, and A., 21
- Baker, Mary, Mrs. Joseph Allen, 2
- Baker, Remember [1], and A.'s training, 5
- Baker, Remember [2], Green Mountain Boys, 33, 40, 42; capture and rescue, 43, 44; outlawed, 50, 67; Onion River Company, 53, 57, 66; White Plains visit, 58; Clarendon raid, 63; and Canadian plans, 107; and Continental office, 110; killed, 149
- Baldwin, Asa, estate confiscated, 144
- Baldwin, Samuel, and A., 69
- Bartlett, Josiah, and A., 133, 137, 150, 151
- Bayley, Jacob, committee on New Hampshire union, 154, 167
- Beach, Gershom, Ticonderoga, 80
- Beckwith, George, report on A., 209
- Belknap, Jeremy, on A., 169
- Bennett, —, messenger, 110
- Bennington, aspect, reception of A., 139
- Bentley, Richard, and Ticonderoga, 78
- Bigelow, John, as escort, 91
- Bindon, —, and A. at St. John's, 97
- Bird, Amos, and Skene, 45; and A., 54; death, 55
- Bleecker, Ann, on A., 219
- Blinn, John, of Cornwall, 3
- Block house, on Onion River, 62
- Blount, Charles, influence on A., 14
- Board of War, 168
- Boston-Committee of Correspondence, Canadian mission, 72, 73
- Boudinot, Elias, and exchange of A., 133
- Bradley, Joseph, Commissioner on Confiscations, 143
- Bradley, Stephen, A. visits, 72; and Yorkers, 173, 242; as A.'s lawyer, 176, 249, 256, 257; house, 242; copy of A.'s book, 252
- Branthwaite, Robert, and A., 22
- Breakenridge, James, Grants litigation, 29, 39; and Skene, 45; Tryon's invitation, 50; London mission, 54; outlawed, 67
- Brinsmade, Daniel, marries A., 11
- British negotiations with Vermont, royal suggestion, 185, 209; Clinton's sounding of A., rumored meeting, 185, 189, 208; Tory suggestions on A.'s attitude, 188; Robinson's letters to A., disposal, 192-94, 209-12; passport for Tories, 194; cartel negotiations, as cover, truce, 195, 198, 200, 203-06, 215, 217; Knoulton and plan, 196; first proposals, A.'s reply, 199-201; A. and suspicions in Vermont, 203, 204, 210; winter communications, 207, 208; British doubts on A., 208; Assembly's

- approval of Robinson affair, 212;
 Ira's first negotiations, 215, 216;
 A.'s continued correspondence,
 217; Ira's second negotiations,
 plan, British expedition, 217, 219;
 effect of Tupper incident, 218; of
 Cornwallis's surrender, 219; ef-
 fect of antagonism of Congress,
 222, 223, 225, 230; British re-
 cruits, capture, 223, 224; plan
 for A.-Haldimand meeting, 224-
 26; A. and danger, 230, 235;
 question of trade before formal
 peace, 233; and fear of Conti-
 nental invasion, 234-37; and
 peace, later aspects, 237-40, 266,
 267
- Brooks, —, of Skenesboro, cap-
 ture, 91
- Brown, John, A. and Canadian
 mission, 72, 73; Ticonderoga, 78,
 87, 89, 90; in Canadian Expedi-
 tion, 115-18
- Brown, Samuel, A.'s transaction,
 38
- Brown, Sylvanus, outlawed, 67
- Brownson, Abraham, and lead
 mine, 22, 23
- Brownson, Eli, and mob, 224
- Brownson, Elijah, A.'s litigation,
 26
- Brownson, Gideon, question of ex-
 change, 195
- Brownson, Israel, and lead mine,
 22, 23; A.'s chest litigation, 23,
 25-27; moves to Grants, 27
- Brownson, John, Grants land, 66
- Brownson, Mary, and A., 8, 11;
 marriage, 11
- Brownson, Stephen, A.'s litigation,
 26
- Brownson, Timothy, Grants meet-
 ing, 71; A.'s visit, 72; and A.'s
 return, 137
- Brush, Crean, family, 243
- Buck, Benjamin, and A.'s out-
 lawry, 40, 41
- Buell, Eliphalet, house, 12
- Bull, —, of Lenox, 69
- Bull, Epaphras, Ticonderoga, 89,
 90
- Burling, Edward, and Onion River
 Company, 58
- Burlington, first meeting of pro-
 prietors, 66
- Burnham, John, and A., 69;
 Redding case, 140
- Burrall, Charles, and Grants litiga-
 tion, 30
- Butler, Zebulon, and A., 251, 255,
 258
- Button, Charles, Yorker, 63
- Caldwell, George, and A., 21, 22
- Caldwell, James, and A., 248
- Camp, Luke, constable, 22
- Campbell, Archibald, exchange
 with A., 133
- Campbell, Henry Fletcher, and A.,
 132
- Canada, Boston mission to, 71;
 attitude, A.'s plans to conquer,
 97, 100, 102, 104, 105, 110, 111;
 Vermont trade after peace, 240,
 247, 259, 266, 267. *See also* next
 title
- Canadian Expedition, A. and pre-
 parations, 113, 114; A.'s recon-
 naissances and recruiting, 115;
 A.'s Montreal attack, his capture,
 117-21
- Canfield, —, as A.'s lawyer, 26
- Canfield, Samuel, of New Milford,
 69
- Carleton, Christopher, cartel nego-
 tiations, 200
- Carleton, Sir Guy (Lord Dorches-
 ter), and A.'s Canadian propa-
 ganda, 100; and A.'s attack on
 Montreal, 118; and Allens and
 trade, 266
- Carpenter, Isaiah, Grants litigation,
 29, 31
- Castleton, Vt., A.'s land, 37; fort,
 187
- Caughnawaga Indians, attitude,
 99, 100, 115
- Charlan, Pierre, messenger, 106
- Charlestown, N.H., meeting of Ver-
 mont Assembly, 218
- Chittenden, Thomas, Onion River
 land, 59, 239, 240; Burlington
 meeting, 66; and creation of
 Vermont, 135; as Governor, A.'s
 defense, 137, 247, 248, and New
 Hampshire union, 149, 155; and
 A.'s public letter, 165; and
 frontier defense, 168; amnesty
 proclamation, 175; and Congres-
 sional Committee, 177; and

- antagonism of Congress, 192, 194; passport for Tories, 194; and British negotiations, 222; and captured British recruits, 224; and Canadian trade, 240; and Shays Rebellion, 259
- Church, Timothy, Yorker, arrest, 228
- Claghorn, Galusha, and A., 72
- Claghorn, James, and A., 72; and confiscated property, 144
- Clap, Jonathan, tavern, 23
- Clap, Jonathan, Jr., and A., 23, 25, 26
- Clarendon, Vt., York settlement, A.'s coercion, 63-65, 70
- Clark, Nathan, Grants meeting, 112; Commissioner on Confiscations, 143
- Clessen, —, of Lanesborough, 69
- Clinton, George, offers to Vermont, A.'s replies, 147-49, 151, 159; complaint to Congress, 176; A.'s meeting, 189; A.'s offer of services to New York, 212, 213; and Vermont and cis-Hudson district, 219; threat to subdue Vermont, 235
- Clinton, Sir Henry, and negotiations with A., 185-89, 208
- Clinton, James, and Vermont draft, 171
- Cochran, Robert, Green Mountain Boys, 33, 42; outlawed, 50, 67; trial of Hough, 70; and Continental office, 110
- Cockburn, William, New York surveyor, expulsions, 38, 50, 51
- Coiden, Cadwallader, and Grants, 28; and Green Mountain Boys, 33
- Collins, Henry, and A., 265
- Confederation, and position of Vermont, 214
- Confiscation. *See* Loyalists
- Connecticut, Allens in Hooker's migration, 2; colonial frontier, 3-6. *See also* Wyoming Valley
- Connecticut Courant*, A.'s articles, 43, 44, 59, 60, 67, 149, 159. *See also* Watson, Ebenezer
- Continental Congress, and Ticonderoga, 87, 101, 109; A. before, 107, 108; authorizes Vermont regiment, 109; A.'s thanks for ex-
- change, 133; brevet commission for A., 138; and Vermont, attitude and effect, 136, 137, 150-52, 154, 156-58, 165; investigation of Vermont, A.'s mission to, 176-79; suspends Vermont's activities, Vermont reaction, 179, 181-84, 192, 194, 196; and Robinson's letters to A., A.'s letter on Vermont rights, 211; repudiates Washington's promise to Vermont, reaction, 222, 223, 225, 230, 232, 239
- Cork, greeting of A., 125
- Cornwall, Conn., settlement, 2; aspect, 3-6
- Cornwallis, Lord, A.'s description, 126; effect of surrender on Vermont affairs, 219
- Cossit, Ranna, and Vermont-Canadian trade, 233
- Cramer, Moll, witch, 3
- Cream Hill farm, 9
- Crèveœur. *See* Saint-John de Crèveœur
- Crowfoot, David, as messenger, 207, 208, 223, 224
- Crown Point, capture, 87, 92, 93
- Cumberland County, Vt., conflict, 76
- Cuyler, Peter, investigates A., 190
- Day, Luke, Shays fugitive, and A., 260, 262
- Day, Thomas, forge, 10
- Dean, —, of Spencertown, 76
- Dean, Reuben, of Cornwall, 3
- Delaplace, William, Ticonderoga, 85, 91
- Delaware, and Vermont, 180
- De Vergennesburgh, 260
- Dewey, Elijah, and A., 69
- Dewey, Jedediah, and Tryon's invitation, 49, 50; A. and Ticonderoga prayer, 108
- Dibble, —, of Lenox, 69
- Ditton, Humphrey, influence on A., 15
- Dole, —, of Albany, 69
- Dorchester, Lord. *See* Carleton, Sir Guy
- Dorchester Company, Allens in, arrival, 1; Connecticut migration, 3
- Doty, Elijah, Grants land, 66

- Douglas, Asa, Ticonderoga, 79, 82
 Douglas, James, of Cornwall, 3
 Draft, of Yorkers, A. and episode, 171-79
 Duane, James, Grants offer to A., 32; Grants reward for, 42; A.'s reply to New York case, 68, 69; and A. before Congress, 108
 Duggan, John, in A.'s reconnaissance, 116
 Durham, Gideon, Shays fugitive, 263
 Durham, Wm., York settlement, A.'s coercion, 63-65, 70
 Dwight, Timothy, and A.'s book, 254
 Easton, James, Ticonderoga, 71, 87-90, 104, 105; and Canadian plans, 105-07; and Arnold, 108
 Eden, William, and A.'s fate, 124
 Edwards, Jonathan, influence on A., 24
 Elliott, Andrew, on Vermont situation, 160
 Elmore, Samuel, and Canadian plans, 107, 108; and A., 159
 Farnsworth, Joseph, and investigation of A., 190; Yorker attack on, 242
 Fassett, John, Grants meeting, 112; and Levi's confiscated land, 161; and A.'s public letter, 165; Assemblyman, 181; and anti-Vermont resolution of Congress, 192
 Fay, David, and Canadian trade, 240
 Fay, Ethan Allen, 141; A.'s land gift, 181
 Fay, Heman Allen, 141
 Fay, Jonas, envoy to Tryon, 50; Ticonderoga, 92; and Continental office, 110; and A. on parole, 131; and creation of Vermont, 135; and A.'s return, 137; as doctor, 141; committee on union question, 154; and A.'s public letter, 165; missions to Congress, 165, 177-80; and frontier defense, 168; 'Refutation' pamphlet, 183; and British negotiations 222
 Fay, Joseph, Commissioner on Confiscations, 143; mission to Washington, 167; and anti-Vermont resolution of Congress, 192; cartel negotiations, 200, 204, 205, 217; and secret negotiations, 222; and Canadian trade, 234, 240, 241
 Fay, Stephen, sign-post, 37; envoy to Tryon, 50, 51
 Feltham, Jocelyn, Ticonderoga, 85
 Ferris, —, Canadian news, 106
 Ferris, Benjamin, and Allens, 59, 66
 Fletcher, Samuel, and Yorkers, 242
 Follett, Timothy, boards A., 247
 Forbes brothers, and iron mining, 10
 Fort George, occupation, 104
 Fort Vengeance, 187
 Franklin, John, and A., 255
 French, William, killed, 76
 French and Indian War, A.'s service, 7
 Frontier, Allens and, 2; aspects of Connecticut, 3-6
 Frontier posts, British retention, 231
 Frost, George, and A., 157
 Fuller, Josiah, Grants litigation, 29
 Gansevoort, Peter, and Vermont clash, 219
 Gates, Horatio, and A., 134, 138; and Vermont lands, 166
 Germain, Lord George, and war policy, 185, 225; and Vermont, 209
 Gilliland, William, and Point au Feu occupation, 101; advice to Congress, 102; and Halsey, 114
 Goodrich, William, A.'s funeral, 268
 Graydon, Alexander, on A. as prisoner, 127
 Green, Thomas, of Kelso, 64
 Green Mountain Boys, origin, 33; Continental regiment, 102, 104, 109, 110. *See also* New Hampshire Grants; Ticonderoga.
 Haldimand, Sir Frederick, and Ticonderoga, 74; retention of frontier posts, 231; and illicit

- trade, 233. *See also* British negotiations
- Halsey, Jeremiah, Ticonderoga, 92, 114
- Hamilton, Joseph, and A., 249, 255
- Hancock, John, and Grants regiment, 109
- Hard, Zadock, and A.'s British negotiations, 207, 208
- Harmon, Reuben, Commissioner on Confiscations, 143
- Harmon, Simeon, and A., 71
- Hart, Selah, and A. on parole, 131
- Hartford Committee of Correspondence, and Ticonderoga, 75, 77
- Haswell and Russell, print A.'s book, 245
- Hathaway, Simeon, and A., 69; and A.'s British negotiations, 203, 218
- Hawley, Jehiel, and Skene, 45; London mission, 54
- Haynes, Lemuel, and A.'s book, 254
- Hazard, Ebenezer, on A., 170
- Hazelton, John, and iron mining, 9, 10; east-side convention, 76
- Hazeltine, Paul, of Salisbury, 9, 18
- Henderson, James, and A., 61
- Henderson, Thomas, and A., 69
- Henry, J. E., and A.'s book, 254
- Herrick, —, of Albany, 69
- Herrick, Samuel, Skenesboro expedition, 79, 91; Two Heroes grant, 182; and investigation of A., 190; services offered to New York, 212
- Hickock, —, Ticonderoga, 92
- Hoffman, Martin, A.'s mortgage, 13
- Hoit, Winthrop, as guide, 72; Indian delegation, 99
- Holmes, Nathaniel, services offered to New York, 212
- Holten, Samuel, and A., 157
- Hooker, Thomas, radical, Connecticut migration, 1
- Hopkins, Lemuel, and A.'s book, 254
- Hopkins, Wait, and Canadian plans, 107
- Hough, Benjamin, Yorker, coerced, 63, 64; trial and punishment, 70
- Hubbardton, Vt., A.'s land, 37
- Hudson, —, A.'s debt, suit, 157, 255-57
- Hunt, Jonathan, and Yorker resistance, 228
- Hutcheson, Charles, Yorker, expulsion, 39
- Hutchins, William, and A.'s British negotiations, 203
- Hutchinson, John, justice, A. before, 18, 19, 21, 22
- Indians, attitude (1775), 99, 100, 115
- Ingersoll, Jared, and Grants case, 30
- Inoculation, A.'s experiment, 19, 20
- Iron, mine at Salisbury, 8; A.'s forge, 9-12, 21
- Isle aux Noix, proposed occupation, 99, 101
- Ives, David, and A.'s pamphlet, 69
- Jeffry, —, and A.'s Canadian plan, 105
- Jenkins, John, Wyoming, 255
- Jenny, Simeon, Yorker, expulsion, 63
- Johnson, W. S., and A. and Wyoming, 250
- Jones, Reuben, and A.'s resignation, 204
- Judd, Jonathan, and A., 24
- Kelly, John, and A.'s transactions, 249
- Kelsey, William, Allen suit, 148
- Kempe, J. T., Grants offer to A., 32; Grants reward for, 42; and A. as prisoner, 126
- Kent, Cephas, tavern, 112
- Knickerbocker, John, of Salisbury, 18
- Knickerbocker, John, Jr., and Allen estate, 146, 149, 261; and A.'s public letter, 165; and loan for A., 246
- Knoulton, Luke, and Vermont-British negotiations, 196, 234, 235, 239; and loan for Ira, 237; capture and release, 242
- La Corne, Saint-Luc de, and attitude of Canada, 106
- Lake Champlain, capture of Crown Point, 87, 92, 93; capture and re-

- treat from St. John's, 95-99; proposed northern occupations, 99, 101; British advance and retrieval (1781), 217-19. *See also* Ticonderoga
- Land, pioneer interest, 2, 8, 16, 27; A.'s speculation, 37, 66, 144, 242, 249; Loyalist confiscations, 143, 144, 161; A.'s northern grants, 156, 166, 168, 182, 186, 204. *See also* Onion River Company
- Lansing, Jacob, messenger, 225
- Lansing, John, investigates A., 190
- Laurens, Henry and A. and Vermont, 143, 151, 154, 157
- Lead, A. and Northampton mine, 21-23
- Lee, Elizabeth, Mrs. Thomas Allen, 24
- Lee, Jonathan, and A., 6, 16, 19
- Lee, Col. (? F. L.), and A., 157
- Lee, Noah, at Skenesboro, 99
- Leonard, Eben and A., 69
- Lexington and Concord, reaction in Grants, 77
- Litchfield, Conn., Allen home, 2
- Livingston, James, settlement, 115
- Livingston, Robert, Grants case, 31
- Long Island, A. on parole, 131
- Lovell, James, and Vermont lands, 166
- Loyalists, confiscated estates, 143, 144; A. and Yorkers as, 144; confiscation of Levi's lands, 161; Vermont passports, 194; British recruiting in Vermont, 223, 224; plan for Onion River settlers, 239, 240
- Ludlow, G. D., Grants case, 31
- Lyman, Capt., in French and Indian War, 8
- Lyon, Matthew, Ticonderoga, 87; and Assembly, 153, 181; and A.'s public letter, 165
- McBean, Angus, and A., 61
- McClunken, Joseph, and Canadian plans, 107
- McCormick, Robert, plot against A., 68
- McCracken, Joseph, and A., 215
- McLeod, Capt., and A. as prisoner, 120
- McNeill, Charles, and A., 258
- McWain, William, as draft officer, 171
- Madison, James, and Vermont, 180
- Manchester, Vt., Grants meetings, 51, 71; meeting of Assembly, 181
- Marsh, Ebenezer, regiment, 8
- Marsh, Jacob, Yorker, coerced, 63
- Marsh, William, confiscated estate, 144; and negotiations with A., 188
- Maryland, and Vermont, 180
- Massachusetts, and Vermont, 183; Shays Rebellion, 259, 262, 263
- Mather, Joseph, judgment against, 7
- Matthews, Robert, and Vermont negotiations, 231, 235, 236
- Mead, James, trial of Hough, 70
- Mercury, H. M. S., conveys A., 126
- Merwin, Elnathan, and A.'s British negotiations, 207
- Militia, draft of Yorkers, A. and episode, 171-79; A.'s generalship and activity, 175, 180; frontier force (1780), 186-90, 198; A.'s resignation, refuses reinstatement, 204, 212
- Millard, Oliver, A.'s transaction, 21
- Minner, Jan, in reconnaissance, 116
- Montague, Capt., and A. as prisoner, 126
- Montgomery, Richard, before St. John's, 115
- Montreal, A.'s futile attack, 117-21
- Montresor, Fanny, character, 243; marriage with A., 244
- Moore, Paul, and A., 38
- Morris, Gouverneur, and A., 131, 151
- Morrison, James, Montreal Committee of Correspondence, 97
- Mott, Edward, Ticonderoga, 78, 79, 89, 90
- Munro, John, Yorker, punishment and expulsion, 36; capture of Baker, 43; on Green Mountain Boys, 47
- Nantasket, immigrant landing, 1
- New Connecticut, as name for Vermont, 136
- New Hampshire, and Vermont, 149-56, 165, 183, 214, 222
- New Hampshire Grants, Con-

- necticut speculation, 17; Young's pamphlet on controversy, 17; A.'s inspection, 25; character of settlers, 27; Wentworth's township grants, plan, 28; New York claim, counter-grants, 28; controversy, litigation, 29; A. and test case, his first purchases, 30-32; A. and New York offer, 32, 33; origin of Green Mountain Boys, 33; A.'s leadership and expulsion of New Yorkers, 34-40, 50, 51, 53; A.'s speculations and grants, 37, 66, 144, 156, 166, 168, 182, 186, 204, 242, 249; resistance to New York posse, 39; out-lawry of Green Mountain leaders, 40, 41, 51, 67; counter-reward for New Yorkers, 42; capture and rescue of Baker, A.'s articles, 43, 44; A.'s letters to Skene, 44-46, 54; A. and Dutch Albanians, 47; A.'s escape from regulars, 47; Tryon's expected expedition, 49; envoys to Tryon, 49-51; A.'s case, 50; first representation meetings, covenant-compact, 51, 53, 71; A.'s letter to Tryon, 52-54, 61; A.'s conduct as dictator, 52, 53, 65; London mission, 54; proposed separate province with part of New York, 55; influence of Onion River Company, 60; coercion of New York grantees, 63-65, 70; New York law against assemblage, delegates' reply, A.'s pamphlet, 66, 67, 69; Duane's New York case, A.'s reply, 68, 69; plot to capture A., 68; A.'s distribution of pamphlets, 69, 71, 76; and pending Revolution, 72; Cumberland County conflict, 76; first east-side convention, 76; A.'s letter to New York Provincial Congress, 111; Continental regiment, A. ignored, 102, 109-13. *See also* Onion River Company; Ticonderoga; Vermont
- New Haven Falls, block house, 62
- New Jersey, and Vermont, 180
- New York, A.'s offer of services, 212, 213. *See also* next titles; New Hampshire Grants; Vermont
- New York City, A. in, on parole, 127-30
- New York Provincial Congress, and A., A.'s letters, 104, 109, 111
- Nichols, —, Ticonderoga, 92
- Ninham, Capt., Indian delegation, 99
- Noble, James, and Canadian plans, 107
- Northampton, Mass., A. and lead mine, 21-23
- Norton, Mrs. —, and A., 72
- Norton, John, tavern, 244
- Olvard, Benedict, and A., 69
- Onion River Company, A.'s first trip to region, 53; Ira's project, 56; formation, A.'s position, 57, 73; White Plains visit, purchase of land, 58, 66; sales and advertising, 59, 60; road, first settlers, 60; influence on fate of Grants, 60; driving out Yorkers, 61; block house, 62, 66; first Burlington meeting, 66; and Ticonderoga, 75, 102; finances, 75; under control of A. and Ira, 149; postbellum resumption, 237; plan for Tory settlers, 239, 240; A.'s house and farm, 247, 263, 265; partition, 261
- Oracles of Reason*, A.'s book, character, 226-28, 264; printing, 228, 246, 248, 252; A.'s presentation copy to wife, 252; reception, 252-54; appendix, 264
- Outman, George, and A., 217
- Owen, Leonard, forge, 9, 12
- Paine, Brinton, on A., 214
- Paine, Thomas, and A.'s book, 254
- Palmer, Solomon, at Cornwall, 3; apostasy, 6
- Pangburn, —, Grants land, 61
- Parker, Capt., and Sherwood, 203
- Parsons, Eli, Shays fugitive, and A., 260, 262
- Payne, Elisha, A.'s letter, 144; and union, 154-56, 167, 179
- Pendennis Castle, A.'s confinement, 123
- Pennsylvania, and Vermont, 180. *See also* Wyoming Valley
- Pennsylvania Packet*, A.'s article, 169

- Perkins, Nathan, and A.'s book, 254
- Person, Zenas, A.'s Grants transaction, 39
- Phelps, Charles, east-side convention, 76; and A., 183
- Phelps, Noah, Ticonderoga, 78, 80, 89, 90
- Phelps, Timothy, Yorker, arrest, 229; on A.'s attitude, 230
- Philosophy. *See* Religion
- Pittsford, Vt., frontier post, 187
- Pomeroy, Timothy, tavern, 23
- Porter, Joshua, of Salisbury, 18
- Poultney, Vt., A.'s land and house, 37, 38
- Powel, Martin, and A., 69, 70
- Pratt, Abijah, Onion River land, 59
- Prescott, Robert, treatment of A., 120-22
- Pritchard, —, and Vermont-British trade, 234
- Putnam, Capt., messenger, 212
- Putnam, Israel, British sounding, 185
- Putnam, Tyrant, and investigation of A., 190
- Quebec Act, effect on loyalty, 101
- Redding, David, trials and execution, 139-41
- Reed, Joseph, and A., 157
- Reid, John, New York grant, 51, 52, 61
- Religion and philosophy, influences on A.'s, his earlier speculations, 6, 13-18, 24; later meditations, 153, 164, 165, 205, 217, 269. *See also* *Oracles of Reason*
- Reynolds, Daniel, and Tupper incident, 218
- Richardson, —, and A., 47
- Rivington, James, on encounter with A., 129, 130
- Robards, Eli, and A., 47
- Robinson, Beverly, letters to A., disposal, 192, 209-12
- Robinson, Moses, trial of Yorkers, 173, 174
- Robinson, Samuel, and Grants, 28; and A., 69; and A.'s resignation, 204; marries A., 244
- Romans, Bernard, Ticonderoga, 78; Fort George, 104
- Rose, Samuel, Grants litigation, 29; messenger, 210
- Rowley, Thomas, and A., 76
- Runnals. *See* Reynolds
- Russell, Thomas, buys A.'s land, 148
- Sacket, Reuben, and A., 72
- Safford, Samuel, Continental officer, 112
- Saint-John de Crèveœur, Hector, and A. and Vermont, 249, 252, 260
- St. John's, capture and retreat, 95-99; Montgomery's siege, 115
- St. Johnsbury, origin of name, 260
- St. Leger, Barry, and Vermont negotiations, 218, 219
- Salisbury, Conn., iron mine, A.'s forge, 8-12; A.'s life at, 18
- Savage, James, messenger, 239
- Sawyer, Jesse, trial of Hough, 70; services offered to New York, 212
- Schuyler, Philip, and Grant's regiment, 109; and A., 113-15, 131; on A. and cis-Hudson district, 214; A.'s letter on plot against, 215; suspicions on A., 216
- Scudder, Nathaniel, and A., 157
- Sevil, —, outlawed, 50
- Shattuck, William, Yorker, on A.'s attitude, 230
- Shays Rebellion, A.'s attitude, 259, 262, 263
- Sheldon, Elisha, and A., 133
- Sherman, Roger, and Vermont land, 166
- Sherwood, Justus, A. visits, 72; and negotiations with A., 188, 196, 198, 204, 207, 208, 239-41; doubts on A., 208; and A.'s fear, 231, 236; and loan for Ira, 237. *See also* British negotiations
- Simpson, Sampson, and A., 21
- Skene, Philip, estate, 44, 45; and A., A.'s letters, 45, 54; and separate province, 55
- Skene, Philip, Jr., capture, 91, 92
- Skenesboro, settlement, 45; and county seat, 54; and separate province, 55; expedition against, 79, 91, 92; Vermont force at, 187
- Slaughter, —, Grants litigation, 29

- Slavery, slaves with A., 22; Vermont prohibition, 136
- Small, John, Grants litigation, 29
- Smith, —, of Lanesborough, 69
- Smith, John, outlawed, 67
- Smith, Noah, trial of Yorkers, 173, 174
- Smythe, George, cartel negotiations, 204; Vermont intrigue, 223
- Smythe, Terence, and A., 223; report on Vermont conditions, 236
- Solebay, H. M. S., conveys A., 125
- Spafford, Jonathan, Onion River land, 59
- Spencer, Benjamin, on A., 46; Yorker, A.'s raid, 63-65
- Spooner, Alden, prints A.'s 'Vindication,' 165
- Spooner, Paul, missions to Congress, 165, 180
- Squeb, Capt., voyage, 1
- Squier, Jesse, sale of farm, 9
- Stark, John, A.'s letter on cartel, 206
- Starr, Ephraim, and A.'s book, 253
- Steuben, Baron von, and A., 157
- Stevens, Benjamin, New York surveyor, expulsion, 53
- Stewart, William, and A., 176
- Stiles, Benjamin, and A.'s training, 5; and lead mine, 22; copy of A.'s book, 252
- Stiles, Ezra, and A., 254, 258
- Stoddard, —, of Salisbury, and A., 19
- Storey, Elijah, and A., 69
- Strong, John, and A., 69
- Strong, Solomon, and A., 258
- Suffolk, Lord, and A.'s fate, 124, 125
- Sumner, Benjamin, and Vermont-British trade, 233
- Sunderland, Peleg, outlawed, 67; trial of Hough, 70; as guide, 72; Crown Point, 87; and Continental office, 110; and British recruits, 224
- Sylvester, Peter, and Grants case, 31
- Taylor, Eldad, and A., 189
- Tichenor, Isaac, and Vermont, 186, 190
- Ticonderoga, A.'s advice to seize, 72; strategic position, 74; A.'s probable speculations on, 74, 75; decision to seize, 77; preparations, 78, 79; rendezvous, 80, 82; Arnold's position, 81, 89-91; crossing, A.'s address to men, 82, 83; capture, 83-86; celebration and plundering, 87-89; colors sent to Congress, 87; A.'s reports, 88, 90, 92; Connecticut commission for A., 89; disposal of garrison, 90; attitude of Congress, A.'s protest, 101, 102, 109; Easton's and Arnold's accounts, 104; pay, 109, 110
- Tories. *See* Loyalists
- Tousley, Samuel, pigs and A., 19
- Towner, Elisha, frontier defense, 187
- Townsend, Micah, on A., 214
- Trade, proposed Canadian, before formal peace, 233; postbellum, 240, 247, 259, 266, 267
- Transmigration, A. and, 269
- Tripp, Lott, Grants land, 66
- Trumbull, Jonathan, A.'s reports, 91-93, 110, 111, 113
- Tryon, William, outlawry of Grants men, 40, 41, 51; expected expedition against Grants, 49; Grants envoys, A.'s letter, 49-51; A.'s letter on expelling Yorkers, 52, 53; and A. as prisoner, 126
- Tubbs, Zebulon, and A., 72
- Tupper, Archelaus, killing, political effect, 218
- Two Heroes, grant, 182
- Tyler, Joseph, Ticonderoga, 82
- Tyler, Royall, pursuit of Shays men, 259, 263; and A.'s book, 264
- Uniforms, A.'s, 83, 220, 229, 254, 258
- Upper Coos, Vt., frontier post, 187
- Vergennes, Vt., naming, 260
- 'Veritas,' on capture of Ticonderoga, 104
- Vermont, war-time defense problem, 135, 138, 167; declaration of independence, 135; naming, 136; establishment, constitution, 136; importance of A.'s return, 137, 139; Assembly, A.'s unofficial attendance, 142, 153, 165, 175, 181, 186, 242; confiscation rev-

- enue, 143, 144; A.'s replies to Clinton's New York offers, 147-49, 151, 159; New Hampshire union, A. and dissolution as lever with Congress, 149-54, 156-58; dissolution of union by trick, 154, 155, 165, 167; land grants to A., political aspect, 156, 166, 168, 182, 186, 204; British view of situation, 160; committee to Congress, 165; code of laws, 166; military draft of Yorkers, A. and trial, 171-75; statute against New York authority, 175; Clinton's complaint to Congress, investigation, A.'s mission, 176-79; Congress suspends activities, reaction, 179, 181-84, 192, 194, 196; A.'s 'Vindication,' 180; mission to States, 182, 183; A.'s 'Refutation' of claims to, 183; fear of invasion (1780), preparations, 186-90, 198; Capitol, 187; proposed union with cis-Hudson district, encounter, 213-15, 219, 222; New Hampshire reunion, 214, 222; and Confederation in operation, 214; A.'s pamphlet on state of controversy (1782), 221; Washington's promise of recognition, Congress's repudiation, 222; east-side Yorker trouble, A. and reduction, 228-30, 242; anomalous position after peace, 232; fear of Continental or New York invasion, 234-37; A.'s defense of administration, 247, 248; French-named towns, 249, 260. *See also* British negotiations; New Hampshire Grants
- Walker, Thomas, and A.'s Canadian plans, 105, 106
 Wall, Mrs. Patrick, 243
 Wallumscaick River, New York-Vermont encounter, 219
 Wardner, H. S., on A.'s reply to Clinton, 148
 Warner, Daniel, A.'s Grants transaction, 30
 Warner, Seth, Green Mountain Boys, 33; and A., 52; outlawry, 67; trial of Hough, 70; Grants meeting, 71; Ticonderoga, 82, 87; Crown Point, 87, 92, 93. St. John's, 96; and Canadian plans, 107; Continental officer, 110, 112; and A. in Canadian Expedition, 116; and A.'s British intrigue, 210
 Warren, Gideon, Green Mountain Boys, 33; trial of Hough, 70
 Washington, George, and A., on him, 131, 133, 138; and Vermont Tories, 145; and A.'s land scheme, 166, 168; and defense of Vermont frontier, A.'s letter, 167; and rumors of A.'s British intrigue, 190, 195; and Vermont cartel, 195; promise to Vermont, 222
 Waterman, —, of Lanesborough, 69
 Watson, Ebenezer, and A.'s pamphlets, 68, 148, 159, 228. *See also Connecticut Courant*
 Weare, Meshech, protest to Vermont, 149, 154, 167
 Webb, Joseph, and A. as prisoner, 132
 Webster, Alexander, and truce, 203
 Wedderburn, Alexander, and A.'s fate, 124, 128
 Wells, Samuel, A. and escape, 234
 Wentworth, Benning, and New Hampshire Grants, 28
 Wentworth, John, and Grants litigation, 30
 Wessel, —, of Shoreham, 79
 Westminster, Vt., meetings of Assembly, 186, 243; Bradley house, 242, 243
 Wheeler, Adam, flight, 260
 Wheelock, Eleazer, and Vermont jurisdiction, 142
 Wheelock, John, and union with Vermont, 157
 Whipple, William, and A., 157
 Whiston, Obadiah, and A., 209, 210
 Whitcomb, Major, and frontier defense, 187
 White Plains, N.Y., visit of Allens, 58
 Williams, John, on Vermont's defiance, 194
 Williams, William, and Continental majority, 110
 Wilcox, James, Ticonderoga, 82

- Windsor, Vt., meetings of Assembly, 136, 151, 153, 175, 212
- Winooski River. *See* Onion River
- Witherspoon, John, Congressional Committee in Vermont, 177
- Wolcott, Oliver, and Vermont land, 166
- Wood, John, miner, and A.'s litigation, 23, 26
- Woodbury, Conn., A. at, 4, 5
- Woodward, Begaleel, committee on union question, 154, 167
- Worner, Jonathan, sues A., 23, 26
- Wright, —, and Vermont negotiations, 196, 224, 236
- Wyoming Valley, Connecticut proposal to A., 249, 250; his plan, 250, 251; his trips, effect, 254, 255, 258
- Yorkers. *See* New Hampshire Grants; Vermont
- Young, Thomas, character, influence on A., 13-17, 304, 305; and Grants, pamphlet, 17; and inoculation, 19; and name Vermont, 136, 226

FOL BOOK SHOP

DEC 11 2022

*“Surrender: In the Name of
The Great Jehovah and the
Continental Congress!”*

This clarion call by
Ethan Allen at Fort
Ticonderoga on May 10,
1775, highlighted the first
aggressive action of the
Revolutionary War and
resulted in “America’s
First Military Victory”.



W8-BHI-161

